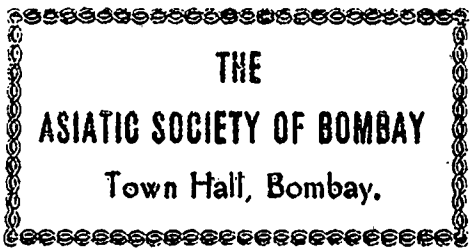
00048781



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016

CHAMPOLLION

EGYPT'S

PLACE IN UNIVERSAL

HISTORY:

284

AN HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION IN FIVE BOOKS.

48781

BY

C. C. J. BARON BUNSEN, D.PH. D.C.L. & D.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,

BY CHARLES H. COTTRELL, ESQ., M.A.

Dxg. 1

VOL. III.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, LONGMANS, & ROBERTS.
1859.

ORI 932
Bus/Eqp
48781

00048781

CHAMPOLLION.

Age after age the twin bright spheres, whom the sons of Nile revere,
Had in harmonious orbits ruled the various-circling year.
'Twas night: the dawn of day was near, that holy festal day
When the fierce power of Helios fell with perpendicular ray.
Thoughtful the Priest of Hermes then in nightly silence sate,
Watching the ordered signs of Heaven, at Egypt's southern gate,
Where Æthiopia's sacred stream with wild tumultuous flow
Breaks through the barrier rock, and foams into the vale below.
A hollow-murmuring roar far-heard proclaims the swelling flood,
That yearly draws the fruitful growth from Egypt's pregnant mud.
Then eastward his pure hands the Priest uplifts with faith sincere,
The faith which fills the soul with light, and makes the future clear;
And to the God he prayed who oft had taught him lore divine,
Plainly, or through the mystic mask of the quaintly picturing sign:

"O Thoth, if e'er on festal day thou heardst my prayer in heaven,
"If honestly I used the light that by thy grace was given,
"Now let me reap the fruits of years of thoughtful meditation,
"Reading the march of deathless Gods in the mounting constellation!
"If Sothis shines before the Sun, a heavenly herald clear,
"Even on that day when thou shalt ope the gates o' the sacred year,
"Then may I surely know that all the Gods who reign sublime
"With newborn force commence to-day the march of ordered time.
"Four times ten years I've watched the sky for Sirius' heavenly birth,
"Then when the first of Thoth returned to the warm fruit-bearing earth,

"And now what lacked hath been fulfilled of the mystic year complete,
"When Sothis with his morning strength the rising Sun shall greet.
"Now doth the great world-year begin, new centuries are told;
"What long my heart believed make now my fleshly eye behold!"

He said; and in the east he saw the morning's long grey lines,
Day's harbinger; and in the sky the mounting Sirius shines:

"Now," he exclaimed, "may I proclaim what in thy rays I read,
"Thousands of years of prosperous fates are to this land decreed.
"The Gods are true; by cosmic laws they guide the wheeling stars,
"And through long centuries no break the heavenly concert mars:
"Hundreds and thousands of long years thy prosperous course shall see,
"Land of the swelling flood, this fate the stars revealed to me!
"When thrice and once the circling year hath rolled its course sublime,
"The ruling Star remains one day behind its counted time.
"Thus, when four times the annual tale of days is told in years,
"A year is gained, which to the Gods belongs who rule the spheres,
"By us not counted; for by earthly laws our seasons roll:
"We rob them of the parts of time, they give us back the whole.
"The time we from their grace receive, a boon from burden free,
"We to their glory here may spend in sacred jubilee!"

And so it was; and feasts and years and fates, a sacred chain,
Followed the Star — to whoso knows the stars a mystery plain.
A thousand and four hundred years and sixty make complete
The sacred cycle, when in earth and heaven the seasons meet.

Twice since that time the holy Priest the complete cycle told
Before o'er Egypt's land the dark of long oblivion rolled;
Night too obscured the signs that taught the seasons' mystic lore,
"For water four, and four for growth, and four for garnered store."
Then to thy thought, immortal Thinker, genius made clear,
From types that marked the changing month, the laws that bound the year.
Thy glance perceived when first commenced the calculated round
Of years that to the starry march the fate of Egypt bound,

Till with the rising Sirius' ray the swelling year began,
And in significant type the Priest beheld the numbered plan.
Thy science proved the truth of honest Manetho: thy ken
Gave back their old far-dated birth to the race of mortal men,
Who from the hoariest centuries learned with speculative awe
To read the heavens, and in the whole to read one mystic law,
Image of right and social form, which with abiding power
The knowing soul of man impresses on the fleeting hour.
Our thanks be to the Prophet paid who saw with vision clear,
In the quaint types that marked the month, the law that ruled the year;
Then gave his thought to the learned friend that knew the starry ways,
Who from such germ brought flower and fruit, to both a deathless praise.
Have thou my thanks, my gift receive, thou Spirit keen and fine;
I give but what I got — the gold that takes my stamp was thine!

PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME

OF

THE ENGLISH EDITION.

The alteration which the author has made in the arrangement of the contents of the Fourth and Fifth Books, in the present English edition, will, he thinks, be found a decided improvement upon the original German text.

By incorporating into the Book of Synchronisms everything which belongs either exclusively or principally to chronological history, he hopes to have made the parts of each volume more homogeneous, and the whole more clear and intelligible to his readers. He cannot doubt, also, that the new matter which will be published for the first time in the Fifth Volume will add considerably to the value, as well as interest, of the whole work. Thanks to Mr. Birch's kindness and his zeal for the advancement of Egyptian science, the author is enabled to offer to the public a glossary of all the roots and words in that language at present known to us, being an addition of nearly 2000 to the glossary in the First Volume. Yet even that glossary is acknowledged to be the most complete hitherto existing, and it is not too much to say that there is little probability of any considerable further addition being ever made to the one in preparation. It may safely be asserted that we are now acquainted, at all events, with by very far the largest portion of the Hieratic and Hieroglyphical vocabulary, although some additional knowledge may be

acquired by the help of the Demotic. Mr. Birch's invaluable labours will likewise enable the author to improve his comparative etymological glossary, Chamitic, Semitic, and Arian, which will now form a part of the Fifth Volume.

Neither is the debt of gratitude which the author, and, as he confidently believes, the public also, owe to Mr. Birch, limited to this contribution. He has translated for publication in the same volume the whole of the "Book of the Dead," or Egyptian Ritual relating to their doctrine of the metempsychosis, or migration of the Souls of the Departed, and their final union with the Deity. This task has never been accomplished before, and the present achievement has surpassed the expectation of the author, as expressed at the time of the publication of the First Volume of this work, in 1844. Besides this, the author is enabled, by the assistance of his learned friend, to offer an Historical Chrestomathy, or collection of important Egyptian texts referring to the researches of this work, and alluded to in the course of it. This Chrestomathy, with analytical translation, will add the weight of documentary evidence to the historical assertions and conclusions. But the author has long been convinced that without such a Chrestomathy, accompanied by a Grammar and Dictionary, it will never be possible to form a philological school of Egyptology, and place the science of hieroglyphical reading beyond the dreams of dilettantism and the impostures of unscrupulous charlatans.

The Appendix of Authorities in the First Volume will also receive in the Fifth an important supplement, consisting, among other classical texts, of a new critical edition of the extracts from the Sankhoniathonic accounts of Philo of Byblus. The author believes that, with the aid of Dr. Jacob Bernays of the University of Breslau,

he has been enabled to give the first critical text of these very remarkable extracts, the contents of which are there philologically examined and philosophically analysed.

Two most valuable publications have appeared within the last few months, which the author congratulates himself on having this opportunity of mentioning to his readers, inasmuch as they contain two discoveries which have not only a very important bearing upon the chronology and antiquity of Egypt, but are points of the highest interest in themselves. The long prepared and anxiously expected work, the "Book of the Kings," has at last appeared, and will for ever form the Thesaurus Regius of Egyptology, and be a monument of imperishable merit and glory. In this splendid volume Lepsius has established the true import of an absolute date of the reign of Tuthmōsis III., probably even the first year of it. He has, moreover, shown that it harmonizes with the chronological system pursued in this work and by himself, as to the beginning of the New Empire — a system which differs by about 200 years from that generally adopted in 1834 upon the authority of Champollion, followed by Rosellini (Vol. II. 499—589.).

The second discovery alluded to is contained in a still more recent publication — the Second Part of Mr. Leonard Horner's account (in the "Transactions of the Royal Society") of researches made near Cairo, at his suggestion, with a view to throw light upon the geological history of the alluvial land of Egypt. This very interesting paper appears to establish the fact:

That Egypt was inhabited by men who made use of pottery about 11,000 years before the Christian era.

Both these points are of the greatest interest to persons conversant with Egyptian history. As the latter may appear startling to the general reader, who has

taken for granted that the existence of man does not date beyond six or seven thousand years, the author feels it his duty to state, as clearly and succinctly as possible, the particular grounds on which the above conclusions are based, and to show that it is not a speculative geological, but a positive historical, research with which we have to deal. For the details he refers his readers to the above-cited publications, and especially to the great work of Lepsius, that glorious result of twenty years' unremitted investigation and systematic criticism.

I.

THE ABSOLUTE DATE OF THE REIGN OF TUTHMŌSIS III. AND ITS BEARING UPON THE EPOCH OF THE EXODUS AND THE LENGTH OF THE BONDAGE IN EGYPT.

LEPSIUS, in his "Book of the Kings" (pp. 151—169.), has thoroughly discussed the general question of the absolute dates on Egyptian monuments, with especial reference to the combined Memoirs of Biot and De Rougé of 1853. (Mém. de l'Acad. t. xxiv.) His arguments, his facts, and his critical remarks upon the ingenious and learned suggestions and explanations of these illustrious scholars, to whom Egyptian science owes so much, are, upon the whole, conclusive. The result at which he arrives fully confirms the view entertained by the author from the first, that such notations of absolute dates, referring to the heliacal rising of Sirius and to the Sothiac cycle of 1460 years, would one day be discovered and explained, and that they would substantiate the truth of the system pursued by Lepsius, and in this work. But it also justifies the author's doubts respecting the assumptions, and particularly the historical assumptions, connected with the method of Biot's latest researches on this subject. In order to enable the reader to form

a correct estimate of the value of this astronomical and philological analysis and its really philosophical results, it will be necessary to make some preliminary remarks upon the theory of the equational year referred to at pp. 67—78. of this volume.

In the first place: The commencement of the last Sothiac cycle in 1322 B.C., which epoch is mentioned by the ancient astronomers and their epitomists, and confirmed by the calculations of modern science, coincides with the reign of Menephthah, or Menophthah, son of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the Exodus. This was called by Greek astronomers the era of Menophthes, for the reading of the manuscript of Theon's work, Menophres, can only signify a king, and must be altered into Menophthes, as the author proposed in 1834. Lepsius has a special chapter on this subject in refutation of Biot (pp. 117—130.).

In the second place: The date thus fixed is necessarily an average one, a middle term, calculated for astronomical purposes. It is found to correspond exactly with the horizon of Central Egypt, immediately at the line of junction of the Upper and Lower Egypt of the ancients. In that quarter (latitude 28° 11′) the heliacal rising of Sirius took place on the 18th of July of the Julian year (p. 161.). The whole length of Egypt, from Syene to Heliopolis, being about six degrees, this difference between the extreme points makes a difference in the Sothiac cycle of twenty-four years.[1]

In the third place: There must have existed, in ad-

[1] As in the movable year there is always the loss of a quarter of a day, by neglecting the fraction beyond 365, the difference between the Sothiac and the true Solar year will amount in four years to a whole day. Hence it follows that in 365×4 (1460) years, the neglect of intercalations occasions a loss of a whole year. Now the difference of one degree more to the south is almost equal to the difference of a day, or four years in the cycle.

dition to their astronomical determination, calculations for the rising of Sirius based upon various local observations, for the practical use of the celebration of the festivals in a given place. Indeed, as Lepsius remarks, the existence of an average or middle epoch implies the existence of different local observations from Syene to Heliopolis, which would afford a basis for that calculation, and serve as a confirmation and check upon each other. There is, in fact, positive proof that such was the case. Ptolemy, in his astronomical work, gives the rising of Sirius on different days of the calendar. When, therefore, we meet with constellations and risings of stars marked on a local monument, and particularly in a calendar, the natural course would be to interpret it in a local sense.

On this point Lepsius now concurs entirely with Biot and De Rougé, as to the explanation of the Theban tables of star-risings (p. 155.).

In the fourth place: The only monuments on which we can safely rely for finding absolute dates are the local calendars which mark the rising of Sirius, and are connected with the name of the reigning Pharaoh. The representations of star-risings on the ceilings were evidently of a decorative character, and they frequently contain the grossest blunders, whole months being left out for want of space, even in the very centre of them. Some, indeed, of these representations of constellations bear the names of different kings, though the rising of Sirius is perfectly identical.[2] This proves at least that they were not always very accurate.

[2] This applies to the star-tables on the tombs of Ramses VI. and Ramses IX. It is true that Ramses VI., VII., VIII., as well as Ramses IV. and V., were sons of Ramses III., and that Ramses IX. was son of Ramses VII. We know nothing of the duration of their individual reigns, but the interval between that of the uncle and

Fifthly: There are even official documents containing notations of months or days, which cannot be correct; and such blunders must be attributed to the workmen or painters employed (p. 159.). For instance, it is notorious that the Rosetta stone, though containing an official text engraved on granite, has a wrong date, owing to one sign being used instead of another. There are, indeed, official monuments of the best Pharaonic times on which these blunders occur (p. 165.), the same month or day being written differently in different passages of one and the same calendar.

Sixthly: A blunder in the notation of the month in monuments of the New Empire is easily detected, and as easily corrected. It would make a difference of 120 years[3] in the cycle; and hence the correction can be made with certainty, supposing the name of the king in question to be known, and the notation of the heliacal rising of the sun to be certain. There is no date of a Pharaoh's reign in the New Empire so questionable as to allow a candid inquirer a latitude of 120 years. A blunder of this kind would be caused by the simple difference of a stroke more or a stroke less. If, therefore, by assuming it to be a blunder we are relieved from an impossibility, and brought within the period previously known, we may confidently adopt it.

Seventhly: The date in a calendar connected with

nephew may possibly not have been very considerable. Of Ramses VIII. (Ramses IX. in Rosellini) Birch has just found in a papyrus the seventeenth year mentioned. The translation of the whole papyrus containing this date will be given in the Fifth Volume.

[3] One day in a month reckons for four years in the cycle, and a single stroke more or less is decisive whether the month be the first, second, third, or fourth of the tetrameny, and thus constitutes a difference of 120 years.

the name of a king indicates his first year, so that such a notation must mean either that it records the year of the reign of that Pharaoh in which the building was erected, or else that it refers to his inauguration, his royal horoscope as it were, and consequently to his first year. If the former of these hypotheses were the true one, we should find such notations on a great number of royal monuments, if not on all, whereas they are of very rare occurrence, except in tombs and calendars. As to the calendars, they appear not to have been renewed every year, for they are by no means common. They would seem, therefore, to be characteristic of some fixed period, which can only be the first year of the reigning monarch.

These preliminary remarks turn out to have immediate reference to the *only one* of the five monuments examined by Biot and De Rougé which combines all the requisites, and may therefore give a positive date. It is the fragment of a calendar which contains a clear notation of the rising of Sirius on a given day, and belongs to the celebrated Pharaoh Tuthmōsis III. Lepsius had formerly his doubts upon this head; but a further examination of the different fragments of that calendar, and of blocks worked into the walls of the present quay of Elephantina, has convinced him that the fragment formed part of an inscription belonging to that monarch. This fragment, then, contains the following unmistakable inscription (Leps. p. 164.):

Inundation: *third* month (Epiphi):[4]
Third day, *rising of Sothis:* Festival, &c.

Nothing can be clearer than that this inscription in-

[4] The hieroglyphical signs for each month are given in the frontispiece of this volume, and the whole theory is explained in the text.

dicates the 28th day of the 11th month of the Egyptian year. There are 37 more days between this and the 1st of Thoth, viz.:

2 days of Epiphi.
30 „ Mesori (the 12th month).
5 intercalary days.

These 37 days represent in the Sothiac year $37 \times 4 =$ 148 years, which must elapse before Sirius rises on the 1st of Thoth. To get at the date of the monument we must consequently add 148 to the year of the astronomical epoch:

The cycle commences:
in Central Egypt, 1322 B. C.; which gives 1470 B. C.
at Elephantina (4° to the south), 1306 B. C.; which gives 1454 B. C., or 16 years later.

But the one date is as impossible as the other. According not only to Manetho but the contemporary monuments also, the interval between the reigns of Menephthah (1322) and Tuthmōsis III. is so much greater, that there must be a mistake in the notation of the month. Now, supposing the workmen to have cut three of those little strokes instead of two, the inscription would run thus:

Inundation, *second* month (Payni) 28th day;

and we should have to add to the respective dates of the beginning of the new Sothiac cycle 30 days, equivalent to 120 years, or together 268 years. The notation would then stand thus:

Date, referred to average astronomical epoch - - - -	(1322=) 1592 B. C.
Date, referred to rising of Sirius at Elephantina - - -	(1306=) 1574 B. C.

As regards the beginning of the reign of Tuthmōsis III., he has himself recorded it on one of his monuments, dating it from the year immediately after the death of his father Tuthmōsis I., and therefore computing to himself the whole reign of his brother Tuthmōsis II. The most natural supposition would seem to be, that in the monument in question the king's own system is to be looked for, and not that of Manetho the monumental historian, who divided the period of forty-eight years between the kings *de facto*, assigning twenty-two to the brother Tuthmōsis II., and twenty-six to Tuthmōsis III. Again, it seems more natural to interpret the date on this local monument according to the local period, the rising of Sirius at Elephantina in 1306. This would make the first year of Tuthmōsis III. 1574, whereas Lepsius, adopting in both cases the other alternative, makes it 1591, which is, according to his system, really the second year of the *de facto* reign of that Pharaoh.[5]

[5] According to the calculation of Tuthmosis III. (from the death of his father), the first year would be :

	B. C.
By the system of Lepsius - -	1613
„ author's tables - -	1566

According to Manetho (from the death of his brother):

By the system of Lepsius - -	1591
„ author's tables - - -	1544

As to the question of local or average date, the reasons adduced by Lepsius, as above, seem decisive in favour of the supposition that for this Elephantina calendar the Elephantina period (1306) would be used, for what is granted for the Theban tables must also be preferred in this local monument. There is no difficulty in supposing that the festival was held on different days in different towns, in commemoration of an event which necessarily happened at different periods in each.

In order to justify his own tables, Lepsius prefers the average year for the cycle (1322) to the local one, and the system of Manetho's Lists (dividing the two consecutive reigns) to that of the Pharaoh

The author differs, therefore, from his method in both respects. He must observe, besides, that the way in which Lepsius arrives at 1591, or according to the other starting-point 1613, as the first year of Tuthmōsis III., is mainly by making Sethos, the father of Ramesses and grandfather of Menephthah, reign fifty-one years. We should thus have a father and son reigning consecutively fifty-one and sixty-six years = 117, both of them having been warriors, and the reigns of both having commenced with a campaign, which is without a parallel in history.

Besides which, contemporary monuments record almost all of the regnal years of Ramses II. down to the very last, but of Sethos only the first. This circumstance would be capable of explanation at a period so abounding in monuments as that was, if his reign were a short one (the ancient List of Manetho seems to assign to him twelve years), but it is hardly explicable if that great and glorious monarch reigned fifty-one years.

As regards his own chronology, the author admits that the absolute date in question proves it to be a few years too low. He may fairly claim the latitude of four years, which every such calculation according to the heliacal rising of Sirius will allow; inasmuch as this rising (at the eleventh hour, an hour before sunrise, which is exactly four o'clock on the 20th of July at Thebes) represents a period of four years in the Sothiac cycle. But he has reason to think that his chronology is wrong by exactly eight years. Between the reigns

himself. He thus makes 1591 the first year of the sole and undisputed reign of Tuthmōsis III. This year is:

According to the normal year (1322), the 2nd year of Tuthmōsis III.
„ „ horizon of Elephantina (1306), the 18th year.

of Tuthmōsis and Menephthah there are two very doubtful points, marked as such in the text of this work. It was not without good grounds that thirty-two regnal years were given to Horus, the last king of the 18th Dynasty, instead of thirty-seven marked in the Lists.[6] But still it was a mistake, and the solution is more simple. In regard to his successor, Rameses I., the preference had been given in the tables to the six years of Africanus over the nine of Josephus and Eusebius. But Lepsius has produced an authority which seems to prove that the original number in Africanus was also nine. Thus eight years must be added and this gives us, to a year, the very date required by the monument.

For by thus simply restoring the two dates of Manetho the conclusion is legitimately arrived at, that the astronomical date of 1574 was the first year of Tuthmōsis III., it being the year immediately succeeding the last of his father's reign.

There is perhaps a further reason for supposing this astronomical date to be the first year of Tuthmōsis. It offers direct explanation of the 215 years of bondage,

[6] The years (32) set against Acherres, the next royal name in Africanus, were given to him (Vol. II. p. 552.) upon the supposition that the date (37) now attached to Horus in the Lists had been absorbed by his predecessor (p. 535.), whose thirty-sixth year is recorded on the monuments; whereas, the number now placed against his name is only 31, and therefore evidently needs correction. The difficulty of fixing accurately the length of Horus' reign, of which no higher year than the seventh is found on the monuments, was not disguised. A mark of interrogation was expressly placed against his name (p. 530.). The author has now no hesitation in adopting the date of the Lists, which happens to be just five years more than the one assigned to him upon the supposition that 37 was a repetition of the preceding reign, that of Amenōphis III.

which, in the former volumes, was only arrived at approximately. This will be seen most clearly by means of the following specific list of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, calculated upon the basis of 1574 being the accession of Tuthmōsis. The author will only premise that, in spite of the very learned and ingenious vindication of the opposite theory in the "Book of the Kings," he sees no reason to change his division of the two dynasties. He must still maintain the principle that Manetho always understands by the word dynasty a reigning family: that an Egyptian dynasty, like all others, always begins with a new stock, the first sovereign of which was never the son or the son's son of his predecessor, indeed not even any descendant of the previous royal family in the male line. The doctrine of Manetho may therefore be stated thus: that a dynasty terminated when the issue of its chief became extinct in the male line. Let us look to the facts in question. Amōsis was indeed the chief of the 18th Dynasty because he was *not* the descendant of his predecessor although probably connected with him through his queen, who was "a royal daughter." His successors were all sons of their predecessors, but Horus left no male issue. Ramesses I., the chief of the next dynasty, was certainly connected by the female line with the Tuthmōsis Dynasty, for he was the son of a daughter of Amenōphis III. All this is in accordance with the general acceptation of a dynasty: can it be accidental?

Eighteenth Dynasty (220 Years, 9 Generations).

1. Amōsis	-	reigned	25 years	1633 to	1609
2. Amenōphis, son	-	„	13 „	1608	1596
3. Tuthmōsis I., son	-	„	21 „	1595	1575

4. Tuthmōsis II. (with III.)	rgn.	22	years	1574	to 1553
5. Tuthmōsis III., brother	„	26	„	1552	1527
6. Amenōphis II., son	„	9	„	1526	1518
7. Tuthmōsis IV., son	„	31	„	1517	1487
8. Amenōphis III., son	„	37	„	1486	1450
9. Horus, dies without male issue	„	37	„	1449	1413

Nineteenth Dynasty (121 Years, 6 Generations).

1. Ramesses I. (descended from Amos III. by a daughter) -	reigned	9	years	1412	to 1404
2. Sethos I., son -	„	12	„	1403	1392
3. Ramesses II., son -	„	66	„	1391	1325
4. Menephthah, son -	„	20	„	1324	1305
5. Sethos II., son -	„	5	„	1304	1300
6. Sethos III., son -	„	7	„	1299	1293

The annals of Tuthmōsis III., the great conqueror of the dynasty, will consequently stand thus:

	Year after his father's death.	Year after his brother's death.	
The Shepherds evacuate Egypt -	27	5	1548
The great campaign in Asia -	29	7	1546
Last campaign in Asia - -	41	19	1534
The great buildings at Karnak, Medinet Habu, and other places, were commenced at this period - - - - -			1534

If the Exodus took place under Menephthah (fifth year, 1320), the Jews had then really entered the 215th year of their bondage; since the great buildings were begun by the conqueror of Mesopotamia, to whom Nineveh and Babylon paid tribute, according to the statistical tablet of Tuthmōsis III., published by Birch.

II.

THE EXISTENCE OF POTTERY IN THE DEPOSIT OF THE NILE ABOUT ELEVEN THOUSAND YEARS BEFORE OUR ERA.

HISTORICAL Egyptologists have hitherto been unable to avail themselves of one of the most brilliant apperceptions and observations connected with the great French work on Egypt, and especially of the ingenious calculations of Girard (Mém. de l'Académie pour l'année 1817), which appeared to him to promise an infallible key to the history, not only of the soil, but also of the inhabitants, of Egypt. For, waiving some objections to the method pursued in ascertaining the depth and progressive accumulation of the deposit of mud on the banks of the Nile and over the land subject to inundation, there was no chronological basis whatever for ascertaining the *secular increase*, that is to say, the number of inches by which the soil is raised in a century. Such a basis can only be obtained by measuring the accumulation from the platform of a monument of certain date up to the surface, and calculating from it the average rate of increase in a century. The same causes acting constantly in the same manner, at the same spot, furnish an ample guarantee of the correctness of the calculation of such an accumulation. *At the same spot* is said advisedly: for it is obvious that the ratio of accumulation must be different in Upper Egypt and at Cairo, the heavier particles subsiding first; and the difference between Cairo and the end of the Delta must be no less considerable, if we take into account the numerous impediments there to the natural current. The secular increase of 5 English inches for a century, according to the French calculation, has not only no historical basis, but is obtained, moreover, from various observations made at distant parts of Egypt.

Mr. Horner has endeavoured to secure the requisite twofold basis. As his fixed historical point, he selected the colossal statue of Ramesses II. in the area of Memphis (Mem. p. 74.). He found the depth of the sediment at that spot, from the present surface to the basis of the statue, to be 9 feet 4 inches. Now, computing the middle of his reign (1391—1225, according to the preceding table, and, with the difference of one year, exhibited in the introduction to the "Bible-work"; or 1394—1228, according to Lepsius) to be about 1360 B.C., and adding to this 1854, the date of Mr. Horner's excavation, we have 3214 or 3215 years for the accumulation of 9 feet 4 inches of sediment; and the mean rate of increase will be, within a small fraction, 3½ inches per century.

The result of Mr. Horner's excavations, conducted in the most careful and methodical manner, is, that the deposit of mud under the statue of Ramesses is 30 feet of the total depth penetrated. Upon this head he says:

"The two lowest feet (of 32) consisted of sand, below which it is possible there may be no true Nile sediment in this locality; and we have thus 30 feet of the latter. If that amount has been deposited at the mean rate of 3½ inches in a century, it gives for the lowest part deposited an age of 10,285 years before the middle of the reign of Ramesses II., 11,646 B.C., and 13,500 years before 1854."

Mr. Horner proceeds to say:

"The deeper parts of this accumulation of 30 feet of sediment are probably more compact in structure, from the long-applied superincumbent pressure, and therefore their age is probably greater, on that account, than that arrived at by the application of the chronometric scale of 3½ inches in a century, obtained by measuring the

superior and specifically lighter part of the accumulated mass. . . . . Remote as is the date of 13,500 years from the present time which these probings of the soil appear to have disclosed, they have not enabled us to attain the hoped-for object of discovering an approximate link bebetween historical and geological time. No trace of an extinct organism has been turned up to take the formation of the alluvial land of Egypt beyond that modern epoch from which, in our artificial systems, we are used to carry back our geological reckonings."

"In the lowest part," he continues, "of the boring of the sediment at the colossal statue in the year 1854, at a depth of 39 feet from the surface of the ground, consisting throughout of true Nile sediment, the instrument brought up a fragment of pottery now in my possession. . . . This fragment having been found at a depth of 39 feet, if there be no fallacy in my reckoning, must be held to be a record of the existence of man 13,371 years before A.D. 1854, reckoning by the before-mentioned rate of increase in that locality of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in a century. . . . In another pit 354 yards north of the colossal statue, at a distance of 330 yards from the river, fragments of pottery were found at a depth of 38 feet from the surface of the ground. . . . Fragments of burnt brick and of pottery have been found at even greater depths, in localities near the banks of the river, ten and sixteen miles below Cairo. At Sigiul fragments of burnt brick and pottery were found in the sediment brought up from between the 45th and 50th feet from the surface, and in the boring at Bessousse they were brought up from the lowest part, viz. 59 feet from the surface."

To these remarks the author would add the following considerations. The operation performed, and the result obtained, are historical, not geological. The soil which has been penetrated is exclusively historical

soil, coeval with mankind, and underlies a monument the date of which can be fixed with all desirable certainty. It is a soil accumulated at the same spot, by the same uninterrupted, regular, infallible agency of that river, which, like the whole country through which it flows, is a perfect chronometer. It is an agency evidently undisturbed by any other agency, during these more than a hundred centuries, by flood or by deluge, by elevation or by depression. The fertilising sediment is found in its place throughout. Under these circumstances it would seem reasonable to suppose that there is no material difference in the rate of secular increase, but that, if there be any, the lower strata would require an inch or half an inch less to represent the growth of a century. But it may also be added, that historical facts lead to the same conclusion, if the space of time during which man has existed on the face of our mother earth be measured, not by conventional notions arising out of ignorance and sanctioned by prejudice, but by facts which any one is capable of investigating, who does not shrink from researches determinable with logical demonstration and mathematical cogency. The indisputable facts of the development of language suffice to prove the two points at issue: that the period commonly assigned to the existence of mankind is much too brief, and that the real duration is not immeasurably or indefinitely long. The author would speak freely on this subject, because he feels strongly that in the times in which we live it is as absurd and as irreverent to ignore the linguistic strata, as it would be to take no notice of the strata of the earth, or for a man to set up a system of astronomy of his own, without reference to the Keplerian laws or Newton's immortal discoveries.

Much certainly remains to be done before the two

kinds of research bearing upon this point of chronology are completed and consolidated. The importance of the results obtained, and of the consequences which seem to flow from the researches of Mr. Horner, will, it is to be hoped, induce governments and individuals to institute similar excavations upon the two principles alluded to above. As regards the historical inquiry, the author will not conceal his feeling of a certain scientific satisfaction, in finding that the researches of this work have led to identical results. They are based principally on the history of the languages of Asia, and their connexion with that of Egypt and they do not, in his opinion, contravene in the slightest degree the statements of Scripture, though they demolish ancient and modern rabbinical assumptions; while, on the contrary, they extend the antiquity of the biblical accounts, and explain for the first time their historical truth. The languages of mankind, when once the principle of their original development and the time necessarily required for the formation of a new language out of the perishing remains of an old one are understood, form the strata of the soil of civilisation, as the layers of Nile-deposit warrant the existence of ages necessary for the successive formations of the humus. It is upon this basis, supported by collateral facts and by records peculiar to the history of Egypt, that the four following theses will be established in the Fourth Volume of this work:

First: That the immigration of the Asiatic stock from Western Asia (Chaldæa) is antediluvian.

Secondly: That the historical deluge, which took place in a considerable part of Central Asia, cannot have occurred at a more recent period than the Tenth Millennium B.C.

Thirdly: That there are strong grounds for supposing that that catastrophe did not take place at a much earlier period.

Fourthly: That man existed on this earth about 20,000 years B. C., and that there is no valid reason for assuming a more remote beginning of our race.

With these observations the author would commend Mr. Cottrell's translation to the English public, and offer at the same time his thanks to Professor Blackie for his version of the dedications to Champollion and Schelling.

BUNSEN.

Charlottenberg, near Heidelberg,
Nov. 1858.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

THIRD VOLUME.

Page

PREFACE - - - - - - - - ix

BOOK IV.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I. The great Monumental Work of the Prussian Expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia, published by Lepsius - - 3
II. Relation between the System pursued in this Work, in Reference to the Chronology, and the Dynasties of Manetho - - - - - - - 8
III. Point of View and Method of the Fourth Book - - 19

PART I.

THE SYNCHRONISMS OF ASTRONOMICAL AND HISTORICAL EVENTS IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

SECTION I.

THE EGYPTIAN CALENDAR, AND THE DATE OF ITS INSTITUTION.

A.

The Movable Year and the Signs of the Months must have been arranged about the Year 3285 B. C. - - - - 37

B.

Page

The Canicular Cycle of 1400 *Years must have been instituted in Egypt not later than about* 2800, *and not earlier than* 3300 B.C. - - - - - - - - 43

C.

Synopsis of the Epochs of 1505 *and* 1460 *Years* - - 45

D.

Traces of the Distinction between a Civil and Religious Year, and of the Notation of the Precession of the Movable Year in the Canicular Cycle.

I. The Want of, and the Possibility of making, such a Notation without Intercalary Days - - - - - 50
II. Proof from the Accounts of the Movable Festivals - 51
III. Express Testimony:
1. The Testimony of Vettius Valens as to the Double Year - - - - - - 53
2. The Testimony of Porphyry and a Scholiast - ib.
3. The Testimony of Horapollo - - - 54
4. The Passage in Strabo about the Intercalary Year - 55
5. Explanation of the Passage in Herodotus about the Sun rising *twice* in the West - - - 58

E.

The Apis Cycle of 25 *Years, and its Connexion with the Sothiac Cycle* - - - - - - 61

F.

The Phœnix Period - - - - - - 63

G.

The Triakontaeteridæ - - - - - - 64

SUPPLEMENT.

Lepsius' Discovery of the Signification of the Phœnix Period, that it is an Accommodation of the Period of 1505 *Years to the Period of* 1460 *Years or Sothiac Cycle, or a Rectification of the Julian Period* - - - - - 66

SECTION II.

APPLICATION OF THE ASTRONOMICAL SYNCHRONISMS TO EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

A.

Page

The Renewal of the Sothiac Cycle under Menephthah, the Son of the Great Ramesses, in the Year 1322 - - - - 73

B.

The Appearances of the Phœnix from the Reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus up to Rhampsinitus - - - - - 76

C.

Traces of the Chronological Use of the Canicular Cycle in the Greek Traditions about the History of the Egyptians.

I. The Date of the Exodus as laid down by Clemens of Alexandria according to the Sothiac Cycle of 1322 - 81

II. Traces of the Use of the Two Sothiac Cycles for fixing chronologically the Length of the Empire of Menes in Herodotus - - - - - - - 82

D.

The Testimony of Manetho's Historical Work in favour of the Application of the Sothiac Cycle to History, and of the Correctness of our Chronology.

I. Manetho divided his Historical Work according to the Two Sothiac Cycles, not mythically, however, but strictly chronologically - - - - - 84

II. Manetho placed the Eleventh Dynasty in the Epochal Year 2782 B. C. - - - - - - 87

PART II.

THE HISTORICAL SYNCHRONISMS, EGYPTIAN BASIS: OR HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE NEW EMPIRE FROM AMOS TO SHESHONK (XVIII.—XXII. DYN.).

INTRODUCTION.

I. The Historical Monuments and the Historical Sections - 97

II. Survey of the Reigns of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties - - - - - - - - 105

III. Survey of the Historical Sections during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties - - - - - 107

SECTION I.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF LIBERATION; OR, FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF AMŌSIS TO THE FIFTH OF TUTHMŌSIS III. — 86 YEARS.

A.

Page
The First Reign: Amōsis (Aahmes Ra-neb-peh). — 25 *Years* 111

B.

The Second Reign: Amenōphis I. (Amenhept Raserka), the Son of Aahmes and Nefru-ari. — 13 *Years* - - 114

C.

The Third Reign: Tuthmōsis I. (Tetmes Ra-aa-kheper), Brother-in-law of Amenōphis I. — 21 *Years* - - 115

D.

The Fourth Reign: Tuthmōsis II. (Tetmes Ra-aa-en-kheper), elder Son of Tuthmōsis I. — 21 *Years* - - - 116

SECTION II.

THE STATE OF PROSPERITY AFTER THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, FROM THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SHEPHERDS OUT OF AVARIS, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TUTHMŌSIS III., DOWN TO THE DEATH OF AMENŌPHIS III. — 114 YEARS.

A.

The Fifth Reign: Tuthmōsis III. (Tetmes Ra-men-kheper), younger Son of Tuthmōsis I., Brother of Tuthmōsis II., and Brother and Brother-in-law of Ha.t-as.u (Ma-ka-ra). — 26-48) *Years.*

I. Misphra-Tuthmōsis is a Designation in the Lists signifying that Misphra, the eldest of the Children of Tuthmōsis I., reigned a considerable Time conjointly with Tuthmōsis III., her younger Brother - - - 123

II. The Reigns of the Two Sons of Tuthmōsis I. (Tuthmōsis II. and III.) lasted Forty-eight Years. Tuthmōsis III.

Page

counted his own Regnal Years from the Death of his Father, as he was entitled to do from the Beginning - 125

III. The History of the Campaigns of Tuthmōsis III., from his own account of them - - - - - 130

IV. Works erected by Tuthmōsis III. - - - - 134

B.

The Sixth Reign: Amenōphis II. (*Amenhept Ra-neteru*), *Son of Tuthmōsis III.* — *9 Years.* (*Third Regnal Year.*) - 135

C.

The Seventh Reign: Tuthmōsis IV. (*Tetmes Ra-men-kheperu*), *Son of Amenōphis II.*—13 *Years.* (*Seventh Monumental Year.*) - - - - - - - 136

D.

The Eighth Reign: Amenōphis III. (*Amenhept Ra-neb-ma*), *Son of Tuthmōsis IV.* (*Thirty-sixth Monumental Year.*)

I. Amenōphis III. and his relation to the Memnon of the Greeks and to the Exodus - - - - - 137

II. The Edifices erected by Amenōphis III. in Nubia and Silsilis: the Amenopheum on the Western Side of Thebes, and the Palace of Luxor on the Eastern Side - 141

CONCLUSION.

Could the Exodus possibly have taken place during this Period - - - - - - - - 144

SECTION III.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE HOUSE OF THE TUTHMŌSES IN THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SCHISMS AND CONFUSION.

The Ninth (*last*) *Reign of the Eighteenth, and the First of the Nineteenth Dynasty.*—44 *Years.*

Introduction: Survey of the Dynastic Complications - - 147

Ninth Reign: The End of the Eighteenth Dynasty: Horus (Herem Hebi Meri-amen Ra-ser-kheperu Setep en Ra), Son of Amenōphis III., and his Works - - - - 148

Page

Horus and the Collateral and Rival Sovereigns with him:

I. Horus and his Works - - - - - - 148
II. No great Religious Movement took place in the Reign of Horus - - - - - - - 149
III. The Tombs of the Kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty - 151
IV. Conjectures as to the Internal History of this Period - 152

SECTION IV.

THE RISE AND MERIDIAN OF THE HOUSE OF RAMESSES: RAMESSES I. AND THE TWO GREAT CONQUERORS, SETHOS AND RAMESSES II. — 85 YEARS.

A.

The First Reign of the Nineteenth Dynasty: Ramesses I. (Ramessu Ra-men Peh), Son of Athôtis and Grandson of Amenôphis III. - - - - - - - 154

B.

The Second Reign of the Nineteenth Dynasty: Sethos I. (Sethosis, Seti Meri-en-pteh Ra-men-ma), Son of Rameses I.—9 Years.

I. Seti on the Monuments - - - - - - 155
I. Representation of Seti's Exploits in the great Hypostyle at Karnak - - - - - 156
1. The Triumph over the Lutennu (or Retennu) - 157
2. The Triumph over the Shasu, i. e. Shepherds - ib.
3. The Triumph over the Atsh in the Land of Amar 160
4. The Triumph over the Tahu, in the Land of the Retennu - - - - - - ib.
5. The Triumph over the Khet, Kheta - - ib.
II. The Tomb of Seti.—The Representation of the Four Races of Men - - - - - - 163
II. Sethos, the Father of Ramesses, in the Historical Tradition as restored - - - - - - 166

C.

The Third Reign: Ramesses II. (Ramessu: with the addition Meri-amn (Miamú), Ra-seser-ma: frequently with the addition Setep-en-ra), Son of Sethos I.

I. Sethos, Ramses, Menephthah: or the Elevation, Culmination, and Fall of the House of Ramesses - - - 170

Page

II. Ramses II., Son of the Great Sethosis, and his Exploits, according to the Monuments - - - 172
I. Rock-Temple at Beit-Ualli in Nubia - - 173
II. The Great and Little Rock-Temples at Ipsamboul - 174
III. Buildings at Thebes and Luxor.—The so-called Memnonium (Ramesseum).—Karnak - - - 177
IV. The Tomb of Ramesses, the Son of Sethos - - 180
V. The Northern Wall of Defence, and the Canal of the Red Sea - - - - - - - ib.
III. Historical Results of the Criticism of the Monuments - 181

SECTION V.

THE DECLINE OF THE HOUSE OF RAMESSES.—25 YEARS: THREE REIGNS.

A.

Adjustment of the Monuments with Manetho's Statement about the Confusion of Thirteen Years' Duration.—Flight and Return of Menōphthes, and of his Son, afterwards Sethos II. 188

Second Reign: Sethos II., the Son of Menōphthes: 5 Years - 191
Third Reign: Phuōris (Nilus) (Set-nekt) Merer-ra Ra-seser-shau: 7 Years - - - - - - - 192

B.

Historical Criticism of Manetho's Account of the Exodus of the Israelites in the time of Menephthah - - - 194

C.

The Connexion between the Biblical and Egyptian Accounts of the Exodus: the 215 *Years of the Bondage and the Era of Menophthah* - - - - - - 197

SECTION VI.

THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE UNDER THE SECOND AND LAST HOUSE OF THE RAMESSIDES AND DURING THE REIGN OF THE TANITE FAMILY OF THE PISHAM (XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES), AND THE RESTORATION BY SHESHONK, THE FOUNDER OF THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY: OR, THE SYNCHRONISM OF THE ASSYRIAN SUPREMACY.

Page

Introduction: Mode of treating this Period - - - 206

A.

The Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties according to the Monuments.

I. The Twentieth Dynasty according to the Monuments.—
The Twelve Ramessides - - - - 207
I. Ramses III - - - - - 208
II. Ramses IV.—XIV. - - - - 218
II. The Twenty-first Dynasty according to the Monuments.—
The First Tanite Dynasty - - - - 220

B.

The End of the Nineteenth, and the Twentieth Dynasty, in Greek Tradition.

I. Homer, Herodotus, Diodorus, Dicæarchus, and Manetho upon the Kings of Egypt during the Period of the Trojan War.—King Nilus, Pheron, and Phuoris.—King Proteus.—Rhampsinitus the Miser, and the indolent Kings his Successors - - - - - 222
II. Historical Remains of the Traditions about the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasties in Pliny's List of the Obelisks - - - - - - 236
§ I. Obelisks in Egypt:
I. In Heliopolis - - - 237
II. At Memphis - - - ib.
III. In Alexandria - - - ib.
§ II. Obelisks at Rome - - - - 238
III. Synopsis of the Result - - - - - 240

C.

Sheshonk, the Founder of the Twenty-second or First Bubastite Dynasty - - - - - - - 240

PART III.

THE HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE HEBREWS, FROM THE IMMIGRATION OF ABRAHAM INTO CANAAN, UNTIL THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH, COMPARED WITH THE EGYPTIAN SYNCHRONISMS.

INTRODUCTION.

Page

I. Survey of the Hebrew Synchronisms generally - - 245
II. Retrospect of the Notices as to the Length of the Period from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple - 247

SECTION I.

THE DETERMINATION OF THE PERIOD FROM THE EXODUS TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

A.

The Times of Moses and Joshua, and the Time when there were no Judges.

I. The Exodus, and the Chronology from the Departure out of the Land of Gosen down to Eighteen Years after the Death of Joshua - - - - - - 252
II. General Historical Elucidation of the Period of the Exodus, and Entrance into Canaan, from the Egyptian Point of View - - - - - - - 260
III. Further Historical Elucidation. Explanation of Two Circumstances which have hitherto been unintelligible in the History of the Journeying through the Peninsula 263
IV. The Proof that Joshua's Conquest of Canaan could not have taken place before 1280, or after 1260 - - 269
V. The only satisfactory Explanation that can be given of the sudden Reverse of the Position of the Israelites in Canaan is the contemporaneous Rise of the Assyrian Empire - - - - - - - 271

B.

The Period of the Judges, and those of Saul and David.

I. Principle and Method - - - - - 276
II. Preliminary Distribution of the 122 disposable Years in the Time of the Judges proper - - - 281

Page

III. Historical Elucidation of the Time of the Judges according to our arrangement. - - - - 289
IV. The Years of Saul and David - - - - 294
V. Explanation of the Origin of Unchronological Statements 297

C.

The Computation of the Period from the Building of Solomon's Temple to its Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, or the Chronology of the Kings of the divided Kingdom.

Introduction: The Chronological Difficulties, and the Attempts at solving them - - - - - 303
I. Comparative Lists of Kings from Rehoboam to the Death of Ahaziah, and from Jeroboam to the Death of Jehoram - - - - - - 307
II. Succession of Kings from the Accession of Jehu to the Fall of the Kingdom of Israel - - - - 312
III. Chronology of the Kings of Judah from the Year after the Destruction of Samaria to the Year of the Destruction of Jerusalem - - - - - 318
IV. Chronological and Historical Retrospect of the Two Series of Kings - - - - - 321

D.

Computation of the Period from the Immigration of Jacob into Egypt to the Exodus.

I. The Sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt must have been of very considerable Duration - - - - 324
II. The Number 215 is the Measure of the Period of Bondage, or of the last Section of the Sojourn in Egypt - 329
III. The Immigration of the Israelites into Egypt did not take place under the Hyksos, but under the Pharaohs, namely, under the Sesortosidæ, and indeed under Sesortōsis I. - - - - - - - 331

E.

The Computation of the Period from the Immigration of Abraham into Canaan to the Entrance of Jacob into Egypt.

I. The Historical and the Unhistorical Dates.—The Method of solving the Chronology - - - - 338
II. The Number 147 is the Traditional Historical Entry of the Length of the Period - - - - 343

F.

The Asiatic and Egyptian Synchronisms of Abraham and those of his Race in Egypt.

Page

I. The fair Claims on Egyptian and Biblical Chronology - 348
II. The Horizon of Abraham: the War of the Babylonians in Canaan, and the Natural Phenomenon at the Dead Sea - - - - - - - - 350
III. The Hyksos and the Israelites in Egypt - - 355

G.

The Connexion between Abraham and the Reminiscences of his Race, and the Historical Character of those Reminiscences - - - - - - - - 360

I. The Tripartite Division of the Series from Arphaxad to Terah - - - - - - - - 361
II. The Historico-Chronological Meaning of the Dates in this Series - - - - - - - - 367
III. The Starting-Points of the Chronological Reminiscences of Abraham compared with the Commencements of the Babylonian and Egyptian Chronology.—Conclusion - 373

PART IV.

THE HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHINESE.

A.

Introduction.—Point of View and Method of Treatment - 379

B.

The Origines and Primitive History down to the beginning of the First Imperial Dynasty - - - - 382

C.

The Date and Reality of the Cycle of Sixty Years - - 384

D.

The Principal Points respecting the Earliest Divisions of the Year among the Chinese - - - - - 390

E.

Page

Results towards an Approximate Restoration of the Chronology prior to Yü - - - - - - - 394

F.

The Chronological Result.

I. Historical Result in respect to the Dates of the Chinese - 405
II. General Chronological Result - - - - 406

PART V.

THE PHŒNICIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN ERAS AND HISTORICAL EPOCHS CONFRONTED WITH THE EGYPTIAN DATES.

SECTION I.

THE PHŒNICIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN SYNCHRONISMS WITH THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

A.

The Phœnician Synchronisms.

I. The Points of Contact and the Points of Controversy - 411
II. The Date of the Foundation of Carthage - - 413
III. The Eleventh Year of Hirom and his Synchronisms with Solomon - - - - - - - 415
IV. The Era of the Sidonian (Modern) Tyre, and its Points of Contact with Jewish and Egyptian Dates - - - 421
V. The Date of the Building of the Temple of Melkarth on the Isle of Tyre, or the Era of the Elder Tyre - 428

B.

The Historical and Astronomical Synchronisms of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

I. The Synchronism of Ninus and Semiramis with the Twentieth Dynasty - - - - - - 432
II. The Possibility of fixing the Date of the Second Babylonian Dynasty, or the Age of Zoroaster, and the Dates of the succeeding Dynasties down to Alexander - 438
III. The First Babylonian Dynasty and its Commencement in the Year 3784 B. C. - - - - - - 446

PART VI.

THE AGE OF ZOROASTER, THE BACTRIAN, AND THE HISTORICAL NOTICES IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE VÊNDIDÂD.

A.

Page

Bactrian Tradition and the Books of the Zend - - - 455

B.

The Zoroastrian Tradition about the Primeval Land and the Emigration of the Arians in consequence of a Convulsion of Nature - - - - - - - - 457

The Journeys of the Iranians from the North-Eastern Parts of Asia to India:

Part I.—The Primeval Land (Iran Proper, Airyana Vaêgô), and the Expulsion from it of the Arians - 459

Part II.—The Course of the Arians after their Expulsion from the Primeval Country, or the Fourteen Localities selected by them for Habitations from Sogdiana to India - - - - - - 461

C.

The Age of Zoroaster viewed in the Light of the Zendish and Greek Accounts - - - - - - - 470

APPENDIX.

The First Chapter of the Vêndidâd, translated and explained by Dr. Haug, Private Teacher in the University of Bonn.

Introduction:

I. The Age and Character of the Record - - - 473

II. Geographical Explanation of the Countries enumerated 479

Translation of the Record - - - - - - 488

PART VII.

THE HISTORICAL EPOCHS AND DATES OF THE ARIANS IN INDIA.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN THE VEDAS AND LISTS OF KINGS, AND THE LOCALITIES, COMPARED WITH THE ACCOUNTS IN MEGASTHENES.

A.

Page

The Historical Element in the Vedas, Lists of Kings, and Localities - - - - - - - - 509

B.

The Four so-called Cosmic Ages, and the Three Eras of Megasthenes, when there were no Kings - - - 518

C.

The Lists of the Age of Buddha down to that immediately preceding Sandrokottus - - - - - 532

SECTION II.

THE HISTORICAL DATA IN THE LATER TIMES OF INDIAN HISTORY, AND THE PRELIMINARY RESTORATION OF THE OLDER PERIODS.

A.

The Year of Buddha's Death, 546 B. C., *and the Buddhistic Notices of the Magadha Kings down to Asoka* - - 538

B.

Approximate Determination of the real Commencement of the Kaliyuga, and the Preliminary Limitation of the preceding Period - - - - - - - - 545

C.

Staurobates and Semiramis, or the Indian Synchronism for 1230 B. C. - - - - - - - - 548

D.

Page
The Historical Character of the Names in the Second Era - 556

E.

The Close of the First Two Periods in the oldest Indian Tradition, and a Preliminary Glance at the Chronological Result - - - - - - - - 560

SECTION III.

THE EPOCHS OF INDIAN LITERATURE, AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE MORE ACCURATE DEFINITION OF THE AGE OF ZOROASTER.

A.

The Epochs of Indian Literature.

I. The Grammatical Age of Sanskrit, and the Formation of Prose - - - - - - - 565
II. The most ancient Epic Period, and the Date of the Collection of the Vedas - - - - 567

B.

The Relation between the Vedic Times and that of Zoroaster, and the Starting-Point of his Doctrine - - - 574

SECTION IV.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EPOCHS OF ARIAN DEVELOPMENT, AND OF THE RESULTS OF THIS INQUIRY.

A.

Epochs of Arian Development.

I. The Development in Iran - - - - - 586
II. The Development in India:
I. The Date of the Oldest Vedic Hymns - - - ib.
1. Agni- and Váruna- Worship - - 587
2. The Adoration of Ether as Indra (Zeus) - ib.
II. The Later Hymns of the First Nine Books - - 588
III. The most Modern Hymns of the First Nine Books of the Rigveda. Most of the Hymns of the Tenth Book - - - - - - ib.

B.

Page

Explanation of the List of Megasthenes of 153 *Kings in* 6402 *Years* - - - - - - - - 593

C.

Historical Result of the Researches into the Arian Beginnings 596

PART VIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HISTORY OF THE IONIANS IN ASIA MINOR, AND THE ANTIQUITY OF THEIR NAME.

THE AGE OF THE IONIAN HISTORIES AND REMINISCENCES PRIOR TO THE OLYMPIADS.

A.

Is the Name of the Ionians found on the Pharaonic Monuments of Egypt - - - - - - - - 603

B.

Date of the Ionian Settlement in Asia Minor.

I. The Antiquity of the Name of the Ionians in the Bible and Central Asia - - - - - - 607

II. The Primeval Times of Ionia in Asia Minor - - ib.

C.

The Pelasgians in Castor's Series of Maritime Powers in the Mediterranean, and the Restoration of that Document.

Restoration of the Historical Epochs of the Thalassocracies, from the Period after the Fall of Troy down to Olymp. 74, 4. - - - - - - - 612

D.

Tabular View of the Restored List of Castor, and Result of the Present Critical Research into Egyptian History and Ancient Chronology - - - - - - 633

LIST OF PLATES.

BUST OF CHAMPOLLION - - - - *facing Title.*
AMENOPH III. - - - - „ p. 97
JUDAH BEFORE SESEK - - - - „ 242

Pl. I. Track of the Arians from the Primeval Country to India - - - - - *facing* p. 456

The following Plates are placed at the end of the Volume.

Pl. II. Plan of Thebes.
III. Plan of the Palace at Karnak (after Lepsius).
IV. Plan and Longitudinal Section of the Palace at Karnak.

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 380. line 6. from bottom, *et passim*, for "Bambus Book" read "Bamboo Book."

BOOK IV.

THE SYNCHRONISMS.

EGYPT'S PLACE

IN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I.

THE GREAT MONUMENTAL WORK OF THE PRUSSIAN EXPEDITION TO EGYPT AND ETHIOPIA, PUBLISHED BY LEPSIUS.

THERE is, probably, no other instance of a single individual undertaking the arrangement, conduct, and control of the preparation and completion, as well as the last revision and publication, of so vast a work as that of Lepsius, entirely without assistance, and of his having done so much of it in a few years. Within twelve years after his return from Egypt, the first eight of twelve large folio volumes, containing nearly 650 lithographed plates, some of them coloured, have been published. The remainder, nearly 150 (Monumental Plates of the Ptolemies and Roman Emperors, as well as of the Ethiopian Kings, vols. ix. x.), are all ready—a considerable portion, indeed, struck off. The last two volumes (xi. xii.) contain inscriptions which do not exist on the monuments: the former of these is already out. The execution, to say the least of it, is not inferior to that of any published work, especially any work upon Egypt, in completeness and beauty of the draw-

ing and type. As regards the faithfulness and accuracy with which the monuments are copied, and—what is of special importance, and a thing beset with peculiar difficulties—the inscriptions on them, as well as the separate inscriptions, it is without a parallel. The attention which has been paid throughout to history, both in selection and arrangement, imparts to it an especial and enduring value. It is the only work of a like description in which this object has always been kept steadily in view; and it is the first which offers a satisfactory idea of the grandeur of the Old Empire and the rare excellence of its art, especially of its architecture. It is the only one giving an account of the discovery and identification of the Labyrinth; the pyramid of which Lepsius opened, partially at least, and made a thorough investigation of all the other tombs of the Kings of the Old Empire. Other monuments, hitherto only known in an unsatisfactory manner, are here represented for the first time in a complete and accurate form. It redounds to the honour of the Prussian name that the Chamber of Representatives promptly, and in an enlightened spirit, seconded the proposition which emanated from the King, to whom we are exclusively indebted for the journey being undertaken, and the successful execution of this work, which, by their cooperation, was not only completed, but was offered to the public at a lower price than any similar work.

The following is a synopsis of it, with an accurate account of that portion which has appeared.

Its title is

"The Monuments from Egypt and Ethiopia."

The Monuments comprise six parts in twelve volumes of the largest folio.

Part I. is Geographical, Topographical, and Architectonic, and occupies two volumes (vols. i. and ii.).

Parts II. III. IV. contain the Historical Monuments of Egypt in chronological order, in seven volumes (vols. iii.—ix.).

Part V. contains the Ethiopian Monuments (vol. x.).

Part VI. the Inscriptions which do not belong to the Monuments which are represented, that is, first of all, the Hieratic and Demotic; then the Ethiopian, Phœnician, Sinaic, Greek, and Roman (vols. xi. and xii.).

The following Table of Contents shows the subdivision of the purely Egyptian Monuments.

PART I.—Topography.

(Vols. I. and II.)

Representation of the country in the topographical succession of its Monuments from North to South. The first six consist of maps of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai; with special reference, throughout, to the hieroglyphical names and designations.

These two volumes are now complete, and contain more than 140 leaves. The greater part was published in 1852; a thing never before attempted, still less accomplished. Some of them, especially the maps, required long and laborious preparation, — indeed, astronomical observations and assumptions, — in order to reconcile the contradictions which presented themselves, or to fill up gaps which were discovered when the sheets were put together. This is the reason why some of them have been so long in arrear.

PART II.—The Historical Monuments of the Old Empire, including the Hyksos Period.

(Vols. III. and IV.)

Vol. III. Pl. 1. to 81. with Pl. 64. *bis*.
Vol. IV. Pl. 82. to 153.

This Part, of which almost all the contents are new, is

complete. It contains all the pyramids; the fields of tombs around them—most of them new discoveries—that is, the sepulchral monuments of the Kings of the Old Empire, from the 4th to the 12th Dynasty; lastly, the giant work of the 12th Dynasty—the Labyrinth; concluding with the remains and fragments of the tributary Theban sovereignties while the Shepherd Kings possessed Lower Egypt.

PART III.—The Historical Monuments of the New Empire down to Alexander, quite complete.

(Vols. V. VI. VII. VIII.)

Vol. V. From Amos to Amenōphis III., inclusive. Pl. 1—90., with 25. *bis*, and 70. *bis*.

Vol. VI. Down to Ramesses II. inclusive, 71—172.

Vol. VII. Down to the end of the 20th Dynasty, 173—242.

Vol. VIII. Down to Alexander of Macedon, 243 to the end; with Portraits of the Pharaohs.

PART IV.—The Historical Monuments of the Ptolemies and Roman Emperors.

(Vol. IX.)

PART V.—The Ethiopian Monuments, from Sabaco onwards.

(Vol. X.)

PART VI.—The Inscriptions of Egypt (Hieratic and Demotic); those of Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai (Sinaic); the Phœnician, Greek, and Roman Inscriptions in these countries.

(Vols. XI. and XII.)

Vol. xi. is already out, and contains Hieratic and Demotic Inscriptions, as well as Ethiopian.

The whole makes, therefore, nearly 900 plates; and

the selling price of the few copies on sale is something less than a hundred pounds.

It is accompanied by a text in large quarto, which is included in the price of the work. The form and type will be the same as those of the "Preliminary Notice" (published in 1850) and "Introduction." The length will not be more than twenty printed sheets to each part.

The volume which comprises the first part will appear at the same time that the plates are completed, or very soon after; and the materials for the whole work are already prepared.

P.S.—July, 1858. The Plates are now all complete, with the exception of those which are to contain the Inscriptions.

The "Book of the Kings," which exhibits for the first time an entire list of all the Pharaonic scutcheons, with a critical account of the dynasties and chronology adopted by Lepsius, has also now appeared.

II.

RELATION BETWEEN THE SYSTEM PURSUED IN THIS WORK, IN REFERENCE TO THE CHRONOLOGY, AND THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

I NATURALLY could not wait for the illustrations or text of Lepsius' work before proceeding with my own, since even with the greatest labour it cannot be completed for several years. He can hardly be expected to interrupt the publication of the "Monuments" by a work of a very different kind. This, almost a superhuman task for any one man, is entirely on his shoulders, and requires the whole of his time and attention. The explanation of the texts again forms a coherent series, and can only be taken up with perfect confidence when the whole of the monumental materials have been worked out and examined. This is now nearly accomplished.

The treasures of science which will thus be thrown open to the learned world cannot be estimated too highly. The historical results of our inquiry, especially those of the last two Books, and the chronological tables, will in many points be confirmed by his work, and in none essentially altered.

But the "Book of the Kings" of my learned friend, which has been commenced since 1835, and announced since 1841, is more immediately connected with this work—the entire collection of all the scutcheons of the Egyptian kings and their families. I have announced in the preface to the German edition its approaching publication. The plates are only just completed, and will appear without delay. When Lepsius went into

Egypt in 1841, the whole of the royal scutcheons then collected were placed at my disposal, and I had then been engaged upon them ever since 1836. Expecting that they would soon be published, I appealed and referred to them in my researches in the first three Books of this work, and those who have inconsiderately attacked or thrown doubt upon some of the facts derived from that source upon my own judgment, will, when it appears, be convinced that I had good grounds for my statements, while they had no right to doubt them, and at all events have made a mistake. I have invariably, as I was bound to do, mentioned the facts and data which I borrowed from his MS. notes, as well as those which I received from him by letter from Egypt. I have been amply rewarded for my patience by the collation of this invaluable collection, more than the half of which is already completed, and which will be published at the same time as this volume.

My readers will be able to satisfy themselves when the supplementary volume appears, by the Introduction to the Tables of Synchronisms, that the researches in the fourth and fifth books are essentially independent of the new matter, such vast quantities of which are found in that precious "Book of the Kings," bearing upon the main points of historical research which it is now our business to establish. For instance, there will hardly be any weighty differences, as to the chronology, between my learned friend and myself, arising out of any royal scutcheon with which we are acquainted. The difference between us arises from a different application of the critical basis common to us both, and from a discrepancy in our historical views of facts and records which do not depend upon the many new discoveries as to the names of these kings.

These differences, it is true, are not unimportant, and it is my duty to give a short account of them to my readers.

With regard to two points we are entirely at one as to the views he has enunciated in his "Introduction" of 1847, and I have re-written the sections in the English edition of the Second and Third Books which refer to them, so as to make them harmonise.

The first has reference to the Lake of Mœris, and the age of the Pharoah who constructed it. I formerly supposed the 1st King of the 6th Dynasty, Apappus-Phiops, to be the Mœris of the classics, and I stated the reasons which induced me to adhere to my previous views, according to which the Lake of Mœris was the present Birket El Kharoon. The facts, however, which Lepsius has adduced leave no doubt on my mind that the builder of the Labyrinth, Ammenemes-Mares, the 4th King of the 12th Dynasty, was the real Mœris, and the lake itself a vast reservoir of Nile water, in the upper part of the Fayoom, which has now disappeared. But my views on this point, as expounded in the English version, differ from those of Linant, which Lepsius endorses, in this respect, that I do not consider it as exclusively an artificial lake, but partly a natural basin. I believe that the king in question found there remains of old morasses, traces of whose pre-historical and earliest historical existence were discovered by Rüppel. What he did was this: he conveyed this stagnant water, by means of the Joseph's canal, through a dike cut in the rock, into the above-mentioned Nome, and secured it by dams, and then regulated the irrigation of the country about it, at a lower level, by means of sluices. In this way he converted the whole of that large Nome into the paradise of Egypt, and was enabled at the same time to convey the water to a portion of the adjoining valley of the Nile.

The second point refers to the date of the Exodus of the Children of Israel under Moses. I stated in the German edition the grounds on which I thought the ordinary view the more probable of the two possible as-

sumptions. I placed them, however, in juxtaposition, and left the decision open until the Fourth Book. But I have given it as my unqualified opinion in the English edition, that the Exodus did not take place under the Tuthmōses (from Tuthmōsis III. to Horus), but in the 19th Dynasty, under Menephthah, the son of the second Ramses. In the Fourth Book, however, this question is fully gone into, both from an Egyptian and a Biblical point of view. It did not take place in the 16th (or even the 18th century B.C.) but towards the end of the 14th, and I think it tolerably certain, indeed, about the year 1320, a few years sooner or later.

As regards the immigration into Egypt, my original conviction that it occurred in the 12th Dynasty has been since then still more confirmed. Lepsius declares himself at one with me, that the Israelites did not go there in the reign of a Shepherd King, but in that of a Pharaoh; and also that the reigning Pharaoh must be the same to whom Herodotus attributes the great political financial scheme of Joseph—that of converting all the freeholds in the country, except the temple estates, into crown property. This king is called Sesostris; and I consider him, consequently, to be one of the Sesortoses—a name which Manetho also supposes to be the origin of the Sesostrises of the Greeks. Lepsius, on the contrary, thinks this Sesostris to be Sethos or Sethosis, the grandfather of the Pharaoh in whose reign the Exodus took place. Such an assumption seems to me to be as irreconcilable with the historical character of Scripture as it is with the whole views of Biblical history and the early times from which I start. I may add, too, that it is at variance with all the synchronisms of the Old World with which we are acquainted.

This difference in the chronological system is independent of the question which has a bearing upon the third point on which we are at issue: I mean the question whether the Hyksos period (as I assume, with

Manetho, as represented in Africanus) lasted 922 or 929 years, or, as Lepsius supposes, only five or six centuries. In this Fourth Book I have gone through, in detail, all the reasons, which were alluded to in the English edition of the Third, why I consider that entry in Manetho's Lists just as correct as his measure of the date of the New Empire from Amos to Alexander, which results from them. Again: I am equally unable to justify the conclusion that the 18th Dynasty, instead of beginning with Amos, as Africanus and Eusebius make it, began, as Lepsius thinks according to his great Monumental work, with Tuthmōsis III. Amos was not the son of a king; it is his wife who seems to have been a king's daughter. Tuthmōsis III., on the other hand, is the son of a king (Tuthmōsis I.), and brother of Tuthmōsis II. Now, a dynasty must necessarily always be a royal race, starting with a new family, which may, perhaps, be allied in blood to the old one, and comes to an end so soon as there is no prince remaining who is descended, in a hereditary line at least, from the founder of the dynasty. In Egypt, no question could be raised on this head, except in the case of heiresses as against distant relatives. If a sovereign left no issue male, and his daughter married, a new dynasty might be formed, or the son-in-law might reign in right of his wife, and continue on the old dynasty. There are instances of both in Egyptian history; but there is no instance of a new dynasty commencing with the son of a king. In the 12th this only seems to be so from the negligence of the epitomists; for Ammenemes I. is mentioned at the close of the 11th. This is the doctrine I have laid down in this work from the commencement, and have constantly carried out, and I am compelled to persist in it. As far as the chronology is concerned, however, this difference is of no importance.

The only point now remaining for discussion, on which it is necessary to make a few remarks, is the length of

the Old Empire. I believe that at the close of the first part of the Fourth Book I have for the first time given the key to the arrangement of Manetho's three books of his history, and have proved also that he computed the Old Empire at about thirteen centuries, instead of 1076 years, which is the date of Eratosthenes.

Lepsius considers Manetho's date the more correct. I hold that that of Eratosthenes is the only chronological one. Lepsius has hitherto considered the 5th (Elephantinæan) Dynasty as not contemporary with the 6th (Memphite), but with the preceding one. In the English edition, I have given the reasons at length, why the arguments adduced against my arrangement appear to me inconclusive; and have shown that there are, on the contrary, many indications that Unus-Onnus, the last king of the 5th Dynasty, was an elder contemporary of Phiops-Apappus, the chief of the 6th. I hope that Lepsius will come over to my opinion as to the contemporaneity of the 5th and 6th, in consequence of the schism which took place in the empire at the end of the 4th; for it seems to me that there are many points which baffle explanation upon any other assumption. The case is the same with the contemporaneity of the 2nd and 3rd, instead of that of the 2nd and 1st.

Now, it can hardly be mere accident that, down to the end of the 6th Dynasty, the series of Eratosthenes is proved to be strictly chronological. It is probable, indeed, that this is true also, as regards the latter half of the Old Empire, from the 7th Dynasty to the 11th.

For these reasons, and the others already adduced, I adhere to my belief that Eratosthenes corrected, throughout, all the deficiencies and blunders which Manetho did not perceive to exist in the Egyptian method, in respect to the continuous chronology. The records of the Old Empire were in confusion; restorations had been made which contradicted each other. Eratosthenes discovered the only certain clue in the

archives of Thebes, where a register was kept of every king there recognised as such, and how long he reigned. By this means a coherent chronology could be framed (which is exactly what we require), and it would appear whether the sovereigns recognised at Thebes were always the legal sovereigns or not.

In the English edition I have carried out this argument more strictly and consecutively, by showing that the kings who, in Eratosthenes, come immediately before the 12th Dynasty, are not those of the 8th and 11th, but of the 11th only. Apollodorus tells us that Eratosthenes only entered Theban Kings, i.e. such as were recognised at Thebes. The Nantef family seems, from a variety of authentic evidence, to have been a long time dominant at Thebes before it was generally recognised throughout the whole empire as the 11th Dynasty.

I have thus recapitulated the main points of chronology on which Lepsius and myself are at issue. Though I do not deny their importance, still they may be called unimportant as compared with the complete agreement in all our fundamental views of history and chronological assumptions, as contrasted with all other writers on the subject. I think I have shown more strongly than ever, in the Fourth Book, how untenable and unfounded every other system is. This is true, indeed, not only as regards those which rest upon rabbinical prejudices, but such also as arise out of ignorance of the Egyptian monuments and records. Manetho's work is compiled from records, some of which are still extant. Böckh, the Nestor and master of philological criticism, would never have hit upon the unfortunate idea of representing the genuine historical work of an able investigator in the time of Philadelphus, whose age, position, and character as an author we can define with precision, as one of systematic compromise, and therefore in reality fabulous, if he had had access to the

above monuments and records when he was composing his ingenious work upon Manetho. That some of his successors should have taken advantage of his great name (and not always honestly) in order to depreciate Manetho and Egyptian research, is matter of regret, but not therefore excusable; for facts and records are stronger than all theories. I have the greater satisfaction, therefore, in finding that further research has furnished a brilliant confirmation of the fundamental view adopted by my revered friend, as it was to some extent by Scaliger before him —namely, that Manetho's history bears a certain relation to the Canicular cycle of 1460 years. I think I have also proved, in the fourth book, that his singular division of the thirty dynasties into three books can only have arisen from his having had in view (and upon historical grounds indeed) the expiration of one of the two Canicular cycles which occur in the course of Egyptian history. The 11th and 19th Dynasties, with which, according to my chronology, his second and third books commence, have this in common, that in the Theban dynasties which precede them both (the 7th and 19th) a Sirius cycle was concluded. The 11th is the first new dynasty in the second historical cycle; the 20th, the first in the third and last.

The historical character, therefore, of his work is not only unimpeached, when we find such a striking explanation, but it stands out in direct contrast to the mythical or cyclical method. For, according to it, the former cycle would have coincided exactly with the close of the 17th; the latter, with the close of the 19th. But this is notoriously not the case.

All the monuments and facts which have come to light in the last twenty or thirty years confirm its historical character, as well as that of his authorities.

The Lists, therefore, which have been compiled from it are thoroughly historical, even in the Old Empire. In it, nevertheless, the chronological succession or cal-

culation of the length of it, is not accurate. The Canon of Eratosthenes first gave it correctly, and Apollodorus followed the same method by restoring the chronology of the Hyksos period entirely from the Theban Lists of Pharaohs who reigned there, while the Shepherd Kings at Memphis ruled over Lower Egypt.

The notation, succession, and enumeration of the dynasties themselves in Manetho deserve, therefore, the highest respect, even with regard to the Old Empire: how absurd then is the notion that by a dynasty he means, in the New Empire, an epoch, and not a family having historical cohesion in itself! The confusion in the 18th and 19th Dynasties is easily accounted for by the numerous epitomes that were made by Jewish and Christian writers. Amasis, before his elevation, may have been a poor broken-down descendant of the eldest Necho or Psammetichus, and have passed for being one of the people. This is no reason for doubting the tradition of Herodotus; still less should we, on that account, be puzzled by Manetho, who pushed his dynastic principle so far as to make a whole dynasty out of the unfortunate Bocchoris. He was the first and last king of his race.

The dynastic method is, in fact, the genuine Egyptian basis of all historical writing, and not the invention of Manetho. We find it adopted already in the Turin papyrus, which dates from the commencement of the New Empire. On the contrary, the weak point in Egyptian tradition is this, that the dynastic arrangement predominates so much as to throw historical chronology into the background. It is in Eratosthenes that we first find a chronological series, without the dynastic division. This purely chronological method is also foreign to the Egyptian mind, because they arranged everything by dynasties. The methodical Hellene found that in the archives of Thebes those who had reigned there were recorded chronologically, that is, those who were there recognised as kings. It was the very thing which

was wanting, and of which historical research stood in need. Hence arose not the dynastic, but annalistic, notation, which has come down to us in a very sad state, but still is carried on continuously as an uninterrupted series during the 1076 years of the Old Empire.

The List of Apollodorus did the same for the New Empire. Unfortunately the statement of the length of the period, which accompanied this List of Ṭheban Kings, has been lost. Syncellus, indeed, did not think it worth his while to copy the names of its 53 kings. But it is clear that the Theban annals had not then so much historical importance as they possessed in the Old Empire. The Theban Kings were then tributaries: the supreme power resided in the Hyksos at Memphis. Manetho consequently computed this period by Memphite sovereigns, and only introduced the Theban Kings for the chronology during the struggle which lasted 150 years for Memphis and Central Egypt. Amos was the first lord of Memphis, for which reason the Hyksos dynasties disappear from the scene, although it was not till the reign of Tuthmōsis III., the 5th King of the 18th Dynasty or of the house of Amos, that they were obliged to evacuate the frontier fortress of Avaris (Pelusium). We shall see that the restoration of the history of that period from the monuments confirms this. Amos, the chief of the dynasty, must have possessed Memphis and the flat country below it; for his immediate successors, if not he himself, waged war in Asia.

In all this, therefore, there is neither contradiction nor confusion.

In Manetho, accordingly, as well as with regard to all the other portions of Egyptian history, a dynasty must have meant, what the word implies, a single reigning family, and one carried on in the male line. The husband of an heiress might, according to the letter of the Egyp-

tian constitution, equally well form a new family, as one who had no relationship in blood, or a foreign prince. It is true that internal dissensions and disputes, as to the preference of the claims of heiresses or their sons, may have caused differences of opinion in cases which appear to be identical. What took place in any particular instance must be learned from Manetho and his authorities. But the principle is undoubted, that a new male line began a new dynasty, and still more, therefore, did an entirely new princely family. A king standing alone formed a new dynasty for himself. Foreign rulers carried on the succession of the Pharaohs as long as they possessed Memphis (or Memphis and Thebes). We cannot, therefore, see how we can be justified in making the 18th Dynasty commence with the son, brother, grandson, and great-grandson of kings; but, in conformity with the lists published by Africanus and Eusebius, we recognise Amos as its chief, and Rameses I., the son of the daughter and heiress of Horus, as the chief of the 19th Dynasty. This is the only break in the male descent.

III.

POINT OF VIEW AND METHOD OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

We have before us, in our two preceding Books, the Egyptian chronology from Menes to the end of the reign of Nectanebo II., nine years before Alexander the Great: a period which, according to Manetho's computation, embraced 3555 years.

This chronology divides itself historically into three great masses.

First: The Old Empire, from Menes to Amyntimæus, including the first 12 Dynasties of Manetho and part of the 13th: according to Eratosthenes 1076 years; according to Manetho, full two centuries more, or 1286 years.

Secondly: The Middle Period, or the period when Upper Egypt was tributary to the Shepherd Kings, from the time when they took Memphis till their expulsion from it: according to Manetho, 922 or 929 years.

Thirdly: The New Empire, from the 18th to the 30th Dynasty: about 1300 years.

This succession of time, the vastest hitherto established anywhere in the Old World, is now also the best authenticated. It is based upon Lists of Kings, and their regnal years; and these Lists are corroborated and elucidated by contemporary monuments up to the 4th Dynasty, with slight breaks; an authentication which is as unexampled as its extent.

Hence, the critical reader has certainly no right to deny its historical character. But he may very fairly dispute its title to great importance in the general history of nations, as long as it has not been submitted

to a further test, by being confronted with the history of other countries. It is not from the time of Moses and the Exodus that Egypt was first brought into connexion with Asia; but the Exodus itself, with the accompanying incidents, was almost as great an event for Egypt as it was for the Jews. The connexion with Asia was broken off after that event. They were soon after indeed at war with the Assyrians, and, according to Greek and Assyrian accounts, Egypt was then conquered, or made tributary. Again: three centuries later, the 1st King of the 22nd Dynasty captured Jerusalem, according to Scripture, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon. From that time down to Hophra-Apries, the two histories frequently come into connexion and collision. So likewise did Egypt and the kingdoms of the Euphrates. The two great rulers of the New Assyrian Empire (Sargon and Sennacherib), and those of the New Babylonian Empire (Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar), were mixed up with the history of Egypt. But, long before this, Egyptian monuments of the 16th century B.C. mentioned Babira and Ninia (Babylon and Nineveh). The result of this contact between Egypt and Asia must either be to produce harmony or contradictions. What is the case before us? Are the Egyptian monuments corroborated? We think we may venture to say, that the chronology of Egypt which we have set up is verified when confronted with the Bible and with the Greek accounts of Egypt and Babylon, and we may also now add the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh.

Since the era of Nabonassar, the year 726 B.C., we have to deal, generally at least, with a chronology which is verified by astronomy. The 8th century B.C. appears to have been the age when a general tendency displayed itself throughout Western Asia and Europe for chronological pursuits. In addition to the era above mentioned we have the commencement of the Olympiads in 776, and the building of Rome in 754.

Beyond that date there was nothing certain in Europe, and very little in Asia beyond the Bible; and, even there, there is no connected chronology at farthest beyond the time of Saul.

But there was a far earlier chronology in Babylon, and one verified by astronomy. It went back to the 23rd century B.C., the beginning of the 2nd Dynasty. In Assyria, it is only since the publication of the Armenian version of Eusebius, and, indeed, by the enumeration of the dynasties which reigned in Babylon, that we get to the 13th century, the starting-point of the House of the Ninyads.

Most of these points, however, I have found very indefinitely laid down.

The question arises, then — Where, in the records of Asia are synchronisms to be found for the historical points of contact between Egypt and Assyria and Babylon: beyond the era of Nabonassar, or the middle of the 8th century B.C.? Ninus or Semiramis undoubtedly conquered Egypt: where are the Assyrian annals which tell us when they lived? Sesak or Sheshonk undoubtedly plundered Jerusalem in the fifth year of the son of Solomon; and for this chronological datum we have to thank the Jewish records: but there is a diversity of opinion, to the extent of 40 years, regarding the year B.C. to which that corresponds. Lastly: When did the Exodus of the Israelites take place? When did Joseph live? Either the historical monuments and traditions of Egypt will tell us this, or it must remain a secret for ever. The age of Ninus may one day, perhaps, be established by the Assyrian Lists; but as to the date of the Exodus, Egyptian history only can decide, for the Bible neither gives the name of the Pharaoh of the Exodus, nor that of his cruel predecessor. This is true still more as regards Joseph, the imperial minister of Egypt.

It is clear, therefore, that prior to the age of Solomon

no scientific chronology can be established, except through Egypt, instead of that of Egypt being definable by means of Asia.

The days are long gone by when anything was to be hoped for from Chinese chronology in behalf of the history of Asia. Still I am convinced that this is well authenticated as far back as the 27th century B. C.; and, from the vast antiquity of the people, it might well be carried much further back without seeming to the critic to be improbable. But where are the points of contact with the history of the nations who have formed the history of mankind and altered the face of this earth? And where can we discover, for thousands of years, among the Chinese, in the petrified recesses of their historical development, more than a slight advance or retrogression within immutable limits?

No sound Egyptologer, therefore, can do otherwise than assent to that reserve as well as the requirement on the part of the investigator of general history alluded to above. But he will also be justified in expecting that, if under such circumstances Egyptian chronology does stand the test of general history, her due claims will not be refused, nor those of the science by which it has been discovered, though these are still so shamefully underrated by German scholars.

Of course such claims can only be maintained within the limits of the synchronisms above mentioned, not for points which lie beyond them. It will, moreover, be the most advisable course to establish these synchronisms by beginning from the lowest point and going gradually up to the earlier periods. Starting from the year of Alexander's conquest, we shall, therefore, have to examine how far the computation of the Egyptian periods coincides with the points in the reigns of the Persian kings which can be defined astronomically, and those of the era of Nabonassar. We shall find in this way, as already intimated, that the highest

certain synchronism is the fifth year of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon. This must coincide with one of the years of the reign of 21 years of the 1st King of the 22nd Dynasty. But with which of them? And with which Egyptian reign does the Exodus synchronize? With what dynasty and what king the administration of Joseph?

Lastly, as regards the Assyro-Babylonian discoveries of Rawlinson, we are fully convinced of their reality. Hitherto, however, no proper chronology has been discovered beyond the very modern king of Babylon Nebuchadnezzar, and Sennacherib and his father Sargon who are but little older. There are no series of two, three, or several kings; and, if such lists should not be discovered, we never shall have a real chronology of the Euphrates kingdoms, unless where some solitary date of a king noted in the cuneiform inscriptions fits on to a Jewish or Egyptian reign or date. Heretofore we have neither found Lists of Kings nor a calculation according to a progressive era.

Ninus, even, and Semiramis are, as compared with Egypt, very modern. According to a view which we hope to establish in this Book, the Exodus (although it only took place in the 19th Dynasty) was some forty and odd years earlier than the beginning of the Dynasty of the Ninyads.

But, with all these synchronisms, we obtain no coherent chronology for the Bible; for, as already remarked, it contains none before the time of the Kings. The figure of Joseph stands there, isolated and alone, as the last glimpse at the Patriarchal age. It is succeeded by that obscure period when the Israelites were preparing for the greatness and importance of becoming a nation—a period of which their long bondage only forms the last section. But the chronology of the Exodus itself can only be ascertained from the Egyptian monuments; and there is still a question as to six

years, even if our adjustment of Egyptian chronology during that period be adopted. Lastly: we are certain to find in this quarter systematic contradiction to everything historical. For the date as here fixed is at issue with the Jewish-Christian calculation, and at the same time attacks long-established prejudices and hierarchical pretensions. We may, therefore, take for granted, that any synchronism which can be proved historically will be disputed or mistrusted a few years longer "for the glory of God." Any one who knows nothing about, and does not wish to know anything about, philological research, may, without any difficulty, believe everything which he will, or is told to believe. Any one who has no rational grounds for his belief can never be at a loss for a doubt about anything historical. Doubt becomes his nature, because he lives in the Unhistorical and in Untruth.

We have, therefore, the more reason to be thankful that Providence has given us the means of pointing out an infallible astronomical point of synchronism in that same epoch. As far as we are able to ascertain, the Egyptians did not make use of a continuous civil æra. But the priests computed by periods of 1460 and 1500 years; and there is authentic proof that the last Sirius cycle ended in the year 138 of our era. It must, consequently, have commenced in the year 1322 B.C.

Now this date has been transmitted to us, by the Greek astronomers, in connexion with the name of a king; consequently, in all probability, the name of the very king in whose reign that cycle commenced. The MSS. spell it Menophres, which certainly is not, and cannot be, an authentic name. It is probably Menophthah or Menephthah, which differ from it but little.

Now Lepsius has proved that there never was but one Menephthah, and that he was the 4th King of the 19th Dynasty, the son of the Great Ramesses, the same

in whose reign alone, according to Egyptian records, the Exodus can have taken place.

From these considerations, the mere outline of which is here given, it is obvious, that in the Fourth Book, the Book of Synchronisms, it will be necessary to make a threefold division.

Those which affect a given historical personage, or fact, or epoch, are either astronomical or historical. They are either based upon the connexion of some point in Egyptian history with phenomena in the heavens, which can be fixed astronomically, or upon its coincidence with events or epochs in Western Asia. The history of Egypt cannot be brought into any demonstrable contact with Eastern Asia, either in the beginning, or in its constitutional development.

Of these we give the preference to the astronomical over the historical.

But between the two we must examine the monuments of the New Empire, from Amos to Sheshonk, which have hitherto only been touched upon astronomically, that is, those extending from the time of the chief of the 18th Dynasty, down to that of the reign and campaigns of the founder of the 22nd, in order to ascertain what historical matter they may furnish.

We have reserved to the Book of Synchronisms this examination, which was originally intended to have formed the second part of the Third Book, because, in consequence of the peculiar nature of the monuments, the history reflected in them must remain thoroughly mute and unintelligible to us so long as we cannot compare it, step by step, with the history of Western Asia.

This is true also of the remains of Old Egyptian traditions among the Greeks, especially in Herodotus, which have reference to the New Empire.

The period from 1625 to 959, six centuries and a half, is the one in which the monuments of Egypt are

on one side the most important, on the other the most numerous. The absence of public monuments between 1270 and 980 (the latter years of Ramses III., in the 20th, and the last year of the 21st Dynasty) is as significant as was the number of them before and afterwards. It is a proof that the Assyrian supremacy was dominant, and that Egypt was in a state of tribute.

Subsequently, after Sheshonk, we have only isolated historical monuments, which require no further examination and criticism, as they have already found their place in the chronological treatment of the Third Book.

The three divisions of the present Book are therefore as follows:

Part I. — The Astronomical Synchronisms of the history of Egypt.

Part II. — The History of the New Empire from Amos to Sheshonk, according to the monuments.

Part III. — The West-Asiatic Synchronisms with the history of Egypt.

Prefixed to the Third Part is the figure of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, the conquered king of Judah, in the court of Karnak, among the monuments of Sheshonk, the Sesak of Scripture.

The Index of the Second Part is the ground-plan of the royal palace at Thebes, commonly called Karnak, it being the shrine to which the rulers of the New Empire made successive additions, and where they left memorials of their names.

As frontispiece of the First Part stands the hero of this Book. Great as was the renown of Champollion, and great as is the obligation which Egyptian history is under to him, as being the first who restored the language of its monuments, still the important consequences resulting from his discoveries of astronomical synchronisms, and

his happy observation of a simple circumstance, obvious to every one, upon which that discovery was based, must in the eyes of the historian be his most valuable and glorious achievement. An attempt is made in the distichs to convey some idea of the effect of that discovery. Allusion has been already made to it in the Introduction to this work. The following brief remarks will explain what was there said, as well as the signs of the months, which are placed as a frame around the picture. The choice of the scutcheons above it will elucidate the history of Champollion's discoveries in this department, which was given in the First Book, as being the authority for his alphabet and adjustment of history. On the left are the figures of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the names first deciphered; on the right, Sheshonk and Alexander, as the guarantees of his system in the most modern period: last of all the scutcheon of Ramses II., the great conqueror, and author of the most important monuments of the first period of the New Empire, then the "Ultima Thule" of Egyptian chronology.

The essence of his discovery was this. The Egyptians divided their year into three seasons, one of which, the commencement of the Inundation, regularly and without any exception always coincided at Syene with the solstice. But as they had neither intercalary days nor months, but the vague year of 12 months of 30 days, with 5 days added on as supplementary, the notation of the first month of the Inundation every four years necessarily took place one day before the right time. There would, consequently, be a whole year in advance at the end of 4 times 365, or 1460 years, which required to be added, in order to bring the chronology into equilibrium. The Egyptian calendar, therefore, must have originated at a time when the first month of the Inundation coincided with the solstice. Without entering into the

details of this calculation, which will be discussed hereafter, the following question occurs to us:

What is the earliest date at which we find this notation of the seasons and months?

The answer to it was given several years after the great discoverer's death by some notations of months found in the Pyramids. The Egyptian calendar is older, therefore than the Pyramids; so that the Canicular cycle which commenced in 1322 must be the third, at least, in Egyptian history; for the beginning of the second, in 2782, is subsequent to the 4th Dynasty, according to every system of chronology based upon the monuments. But there is evidence that the beginning of the one in which the Pyramids were built is really the first, and that it commenced before Menes.

It is, therefore, no idle question in what part of the Old Empire the second Canicular cycle commenced. At all events, we shall be able to show in which of Manetho's dynasties he placed it. It will also be seen that the most ancient adjustment of the Egyptian year, according to our chronology, took place at that very period of the Old Empire which is historically and monumentally the most suitable.

It will follow, moreover, that the date of Menes cannot be materially earlier or later, upon either astronomical or historical grounds, than our calculation makes it.

The Second Part of the Book is, as well as the First, essentially the same as it was when it was written between 1838 and 1842. It has, however, been repeatedly gone over since that time, and all the new matter which has been obtained by my own researches, or through those of other people, has been introduced into it, especially those of Lepsius and the monuments of the great Prussian work.

Its main feature is the most ancient and, historically, most important synchronism of the New Empire, the

Exodus. It is necessary to investigate that event, purely from an Egyptian point of view.

In the Third Part, the chapter on the Jewish synchronisms is by far the most detailed. There is not a single point in Jewish history, from Zedekiah back to Abraham, which is not tested chronologically, and, as far as requisite, historically.

But those of Phœnicia, of Assyria, and of Babylon, which are treated of in the first section of this Part, are also intended to test, thoroughly and independently, all the main chronological points in Asiatic history before the Persian dominion.

Valuable as is the information derived from the labours of other students in all these chronological researches, I find that Niebuhr is the only one since Scaliger whose views are really historical, independent, and to the purpose. But the investigator who rests upon them must not forget that in the last twenty or thirty years a number of most valuable sources of information have been discovered, wholly unknown or inaccessible to them. It is the more indispensable not to conclude without mentioning the main points, which may give real assistance and encouragement to future generations in making further researches.

For myself, I am conscious of having made an honest use of the sources of information at my disposal, and of being thankful to my predecessors for what they have done. Nor have I advanced anything which I have not considered and tested, according to the rule of Horace, "for nine years."

I have only mentioned such of my fellow-labourers with whose method of research I can say that I agree; but I have read everything that has come out since that time.

I do not feel called upon here to enter the lists with the others.

Yet it is my duty to enter my solemn protest, not

only against so unscientific a method of treating such a subject, but against the immoral system of throwing out imputations, which certain organs of public opinion in England, and even writers of note too, have not been ashamed to adopt.

They believe they are right—indeed, that they are acting for the glory of God—in representing a work to be irreligious which impinges upon Jewish or ecclesiastical prejudices. The answer to this is very short: that it is an immoral practice, and unworthy of a man of honour. In dealing with history, and historical research which is worthy of such a name, it is no question of favouring or not favouring any particular system, but of discovering the sacred truth as it presents itself to a conscientious inquirer. One might have supposed that in the nineteenth century chronological and purely philological research would be very safe against these hateful charges of being dangerous and pernicious. But as this is not the case, and as there is no disguising the fact that, throughout Europe, there is on the part of the hierarchy and the priesthood, as well as of reactionary governments who are either in league with or working for them, a growing systematic opposition to all free and independent research, it is necessary to tear off the mask from the blind zealots who indulge in these calumnies, and to tell them to their faces that, if they attack a scientific point in an unscientific way, they publicly brand themselves either as hypocrites or ignoramuses; and that, in a scientific point of view, they hardly deserve any notice to be taken of them.

I should be truly grieved to be obliged to reckon Mr. Richard Poole among this number, who, in his work on the chronology of Egypt (1850) showed a sound knowledge of hieroglyphics, and qualifications for becoming a sound critic. His historical research is, however, a failure from beginning to end. He has allowed

himself the most incredible latitude of arbitrary assumption, in order not to disturb the rabbinical system of ecclesiastical chronology in respect to the age of man upon the earth, which he has taken under his protection. Of course, the Hyksos Kings, and the Theban Kings their contemporaries, with whose monuments he is acquainted, stand very much in the way of this assumption; although it cannot be called anything but dishonest or childish to overlook the innumerable other arguments which render it impossible from first to last. Here, consequently, the most wonderful assumptions are brought into play by Mr. Poole.

In spite of certain symptoms which are real matters of regret, it is to be hoped that this young scholar may throw off these shackles; but I cannot do otherwise than subscribe to what M. De Rougé has said of him, in serious language and with the most friendly intent.[1]

A most pernicious spirit of ecclesiastical mistrust prevails on this subject in an article in the "Journal of Sacred Literature," July, 1854, only remarkable as being very pretentious and superficial, upon Lepsius' "Letters from Egypt," which are as modest as they are instructive. It is generally attributed to Mr. Poole.

Unfortunately, too, we are obliged to say of Mr. William Osborne's work on Egypt, which appeared two or three years ago, that, from a critical point of view, it has no value whatever.

[1] Mémoire sur quelques Phénomènes Célestes, lu à l'Academie des Inscriptions, le 24 Décembre, 1852, p. 13. note: "M. Poole est du nombre des jeunes travailleurs qui méritent qu'on leur dise la vérité toute entière. Ou il n'a pas lu ce qu'ont écrit sur ce sujet les archéologues récents, ce qui serait inexcusable, ou il les a lu, et ne les cite pas, ce qui serait plus grave encore. Je n'ai pas lu le nom de Lepsius une seule fois dans ce livre, à propos de toutes les questions traitées si longuement dans 'l'Introduction à la Chronologie.'"

I have accordingly the greater pleasure in being able to mention the continuation of Mr. Birch's untiring labours and instructive contributions to this department of science. This zealous superintendent of the Egyptian Department in the British Museum is going on with his careful edition of the historical papyri in that Institution. Sir Gardner Wilkinson's publication of the Turin Papyrus is likewise a real addition to Egyptology.

The brightest star, however, that has appeared in the Egyptian heavens since the publication of the earlier volumes of this work is without doubt the Viscount de Rougé, superintendent of the Egyptian Museum in the Louvre. I am indebted to his thoroughly sound criticism of my work in the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne" for many suggestions and much instruction, as is shown in many passages of my corrected English edition of the Second Volume. This was followed by a beautiful explanation of the historical inscription of the time of Aahmes, which gives authentic proof of the chronological connexion between the 17th (Theban) Dynasty and the chiefs of the 18th. Having already, in 1852, solved the great problem of translating a coherent narrative — the remarkable historical romance of the primeval times of Egypt, written in the age of Menephthah, only a few years before the Exodus[2]—he is now preparing a translation and explanation of the most important of the Sallier Papyri. This, as I learn from himself, contains a description of the negotiations between the Theban "prince," a king of the 17th Dynasty[3], and his contemporary and foe, a King Apophis, at Abara (Uara, Avaris); and of the religious

[2] Revue Archéologique, 1852.

[3] See the synopsis of the 12th Dynasty in the Table of Synchronisms to this Book.

motives which led to the war with the Set-worshippers, who despised the other deities of the country.

The translation and explanation both of this record (which, however, seems to have been composed only in the 19th Dynasty, and to which we cannot positively assign an historical character), and of the fragment containing the campaigns of the second Ramses, which forms the complement to an inscription still existing at Karnak, may be shortly expected.

Thus has Egyptology far outstripped any rational expectations which philologers and students might fairly have entertained; and in the first thirty years after its institution by Champollion its success has been triumphant beyond example. Of course we speak of the Egyptology of which Champollion was the founder, and which will be for ever established upon the basis of his immortal Grammar. To mention any other is unnecessary, at all events out of Germany. Every man who has laboured in this department, and whose name deserves to be noticed, has pursued this system, and this alone: for instance, Brugsch, in his "Travels in Egypt," 1855. As long as Uhlemann, the present representative of Egyptian science in Göttingen, places the dreams and conceits of Seyffarth in the same category with the scientific labours of a Champollion, Lepsius, and De Rougé, he forfeits any title to knowledge of the foundation of Egyptology and all claim to pronounce a critical judgment upon it. Lepsius has already shown the insignificance of Gumpach's attacks upon Egyptian chronology. But when Seyffarth, in his late work on Egyptian grammar, has had the boldness to assert that Lepsius and myself admit Champollion's system to be fallacious and unsatisfactory, it is about as gross and notorious a perversion of historical truth as it would be to say that we are guilty of considering his own figments and inventions as anything but pitiable nonsense which is a scandal to Germany.

P.S. — July, 1858. The following publications, which deserve particular notice, have appeared since this was written:

Chabas, F. Le plus ancien Livre du Monde, in the "Revue Archéologique," 1858, p. 1—26.

Heath, D. I., Rev. The Exodus Papyri: 8vo., London, 1855. A Record of the Patriarchal Age: 12mo., London, 1858.

De Rougé. Le Poeme de Pen-ta-our, in the "Revue Contemporaine," 1856, p. 389. Notice sur un Manuscrit Égyptien, in the "Revue Archéologique," 1853, vol. ix. p. 385.

PART I.

THE SYNCHRONISMS OF ASTRONOMICAL AND HISTORICAL EVENTS IN EGYPTIAN HISTORY.

SECTION I.

THE EGYPTIAN CALENDAR, AND THE DATE OF ITS INSTITUTION.[4]

A.

THE MOVABLE YEAR AND THE SIGNS OF THE MONTHS MUST HAVE BEEN ARRANGED ABOUT THE YEAR 3285 B. C.

It is almost universally admitted, after the various learned investigations which have been instituted upon the subject in our days, that there were neither intercalary days nor intercalary months in the civil calendar of the Egyptians before the time of Augustus; but that the civil year of 365 days gradually ran farther and farther into the true solar year. A more recent attempt to sustain the opposite view[5], in which some passages in the classics have been misunderstood and others overlooked, must be considered entirely abortive. The following will suffice to show that such a notion is wholly untenable. It is stated by Eratosthenes, nearly two centuries before the reign of Augustus, that the festival of Isis, which in earlier times coincided with the vernal equinox, coincided in his time with the autumnal. The only explanation of this is, that the civil year, in the absence of intercalary days or months, passed through

[4] In reference to this subject generally, we refer our readers to the lucid and conclusive exposition in Ideler's Handbook of Chronology, vol. i.

[5] Upon the Names given to the Months by several ancient Peoples. By Drs. Benfey and Stern. Berlin, 1837-8.

all the seasons, inasmuch as it anticipated the solar year by nearly one day in every four years. The consequence of this would be, that a festival which originally fell on the 1st of Thoth would gradually advance two, three, four, and, at the end of 120 years, thirty days, or a month, into the true year. Geminus, who lived 70 B.C., in quoting the above remark of Eratosthenes, states so expressly in reference to his own times. How could Ptolemy, in the age of the Antonines, have made the astronomical calculations which he records, according to the movable year, as Hipparchus also did, if it had not been the Old-Egyptian year? But he expressly designates these computations, which extended back far beyond the Ptolemaic times, as "those according to the Egyptians," in contrast with the Alexandrian method, in which it is admitted that calculations were made by fixed years from the time of the capture of Alexandria by Augustus.

In a movable year of this sort the months, then, must necessarily have advanced gradually through all the seasons.

But in Egypt all the twelve months were connected with signs of settled seasons, and, indeed, in such a manner that, from the peculiarity of that remarkable country, we can accurately assign the particular period of the solar year which each of these signs was meant to indicate, and, of course, did really indicate when the calendar was arranged.

The Egyptians we know had three seasons, consisting of four equal months of thirty days (a tetrameny). The five supplemental days (epagomenæ) were added on to the end of the twelfth. In the invariable order of these months, Thoth being always the first, these, as the hieroglyphics by which the bust of Champollion is surrounded on our frontispiece are intended to demonstrate, were called, the Green Season, the Harvest Season, and the Water Season.

M. Brugsch has since endeavoured to identify this division of the year into three seasons with the hieroglyphical division into *sha*, summer (autumn ?), *pro*, winter, and *shum*, summer.

The commencement of one of these, the Water Season, or Inundation, we can accurately define, not merely historically, but also astronomically.[6]

For thousands of years past, the rising of the Nile below the second cataract (Syene) always commences at the solstice. From that time it continues to rise, until at length it overflows. According to Herodotus, as well as the observations of the French scholars and all travellers, the inundation comes to its height after the lapse of 100 days.

Assuming, then, the solstice to be on June 21–22., the inundation would be at its height a little before the 1st of October. It remains at that height for a few days, and then gradually subsides.

As the water retires, in Upper Egypt at the beginning, in the Delta in the middle, of October, the Egyptian puts his seed into the moist productive ground. From 120 to 125 days after the beginning of the inundation, that is, about the end of October, it begins to sprout. The Water Season therefore corresponds with the four months after the solstice, or pretty nearly with July, August, September, and October.

The Green Season accordingly comprised November, December, January, and February; and there remains for the Harvest Season, March, April, May, and June.

The signs of the months, on the contrary, are as follows:[7]

[6] This subject is ably treated by Lepsius, Einleitung, p. 147. et seq.

[7] The names of the months (which, though new to us and only known from the Coptic and Arabic transcripts of them, were Old-

First Tetrameny.—*The Green Season.*

I. Thoth	1st of Green Season	=	November.
II. Phaophi	2nd „	=	December.
III. Hathor	3rd „	=	January.
IV. Choiak	4th „	=	February.

Second Tetrameny.—*The Harvest Season.*

V. Toby	1st of Harvest Season	=	March.
VI. Mechir	2nd „	=	April.
VII. Phamenoth	3rd „	=	May.
VIII. Pharmuthi	4th „	=	June.

Third Tetrameny.—*The Water Season.*

IX. Pachon	1st of Water Season	=	July.
X. Paôni	2nd „	=	August.
XI. Epiphi	3rd „	=	September.
XII. Mesori	4th „	=	October.

Egyptian), and perhaps even the original way of pronouncing the above hieroglyphical signs, have been satisfactorily explained for the first time by Lepsius, who has drawn from them some very important conclusions for the whole history of the Egyptian calendar. (Einl. p. 133–145.; comp. p. 154. and other passages.)

In referring my readers to the text of my friend's learned and generally conclusive researches, the following brief summary of the astonishing results of them are here submitted. The names of the gods of the months are recorded in the Ramesseum and at Edfoo.

First Tetrameny.—*The Green Season.*

I. Thoth, Thôyth, from Tet, the Hermes of the Egyptians, probably as the opener of the year and of each month, like Janus. Techi, however, is the goddess of the months, probably merely an epithet of Isis.

II. Paôpe, Phaôphis, i. e. the (month) of the . . . . perhaps a name of Ptah: such is the name of the month-god, designated also by the epithet Menkh, Εὐεργέτης. [Perhaps the root is *hotep*, offered, offerer (Gr. ὄφις, in the royal names) as an epithet of Ptah, like Ptah-Sokari (?).]

III. Athôr, Athyr, Athyri, a name of Venus, the goddess of the months.

IV. Choiak, in its complete form Ĉhoiahk, Arab. *Kihak*: the

It is clear that the months must have been thus designated at a period when the 1st of Thoth fell about the 25th of October.

It is easy for astronomers to calculate when and how

month-goddess Kahika; in Thebes, Pacht: the former probably an epithet of the same goddess.

SECOND TETRAMENY. — *The Harvest Season.*

V. TÔBE, TÔBI, TYBI: tutelary god, Khem, Tehef-teb at Edfoo. The second part of the word explains the name.

VI. MECHIR, EMCHIR: the jackal-idol (the Nile-horse at Edfoo), with the addition *rekh-ur*, "great fire."

VII. PHAMENOTH, in Theb. PAREMHOT? explanation doubtful: the idol also a jackal (Nile-horse at Edfoo), with the addition *rekh-si*, "small fire."

This general designation of the 6th and 7th months is very ancient. It was found by Lepsius on a monument of the 12th Dynasty (p. 154.). It alludes to a division into the two halves of the year. According to Plut. de Is. c. 44. the jackal was the symbol of the horizon, as being the line of demarcation between the upper and lower hemispheres.

VIII. PHARMUTHI refers to Termuthi, the Great Mother (t.ur mut): the sign is a goddess with the snake. The name she is known by is Kennen, the Snake Goddess; but Termuthis occurs with this symbol.

THIRD TETRAMENY. — *The Water Season.*

IX. PACHÔN, PACHÔNS, PASHÔNS, from the god Chensu, Chunsu, Gr. Chôns (Herakles), son of Ammon and Muth.

X. PAÔN, PAYNI: the sign Hôrus with the name FENTI [possibly the original signification was Typhonian (Set), uôn, ûn, the Opener, as Osiris is afterwards styled].

XI. EPEP, EPIP, EPIPHI: symbol, the frog-headed goddess Ap, Ep. The Arabic form, *Abib*, is evidently the Hebrew name of the gleaning month, *Abib* (the gleaning). At the time of the Exodus the movable Epep would have coincided with the vernal equinox.

XII. MESÔRE, MESORI, MESÔRI: sign, "Her-Ra (Horus, Sun) of the two hemispheres:" the explanation, therefore, certainly must be Mes-her-ra, the birth of the Sun-Horus, in reference to the winter solstice, the birth of the sun of the new year. This is another proof that the ordinary year commenced on the first of Thoth.

often in the course of the ancient history of the world this took place. Biot, on the basis of accurate computations made in conjunction with Champollion, has given a very lucid exposition of the result. Although their task was not finished when Champollion died, the papers which he left enabled the great astronomer to complete it, and the results were published by him in 1831.[8]

The principal conclusions were as follows. In the olden time 1505 solar years were almost exactly equal to 1506 years of 365 days. Consequently every 1505 years the 1st of Thoth would fall on the 25th of October, and coincide with the beginning of the Green Season. This was the case in the following years B.C.:

275—1780—3285.

The evidence of the monuments renders it unnecessary to prove that the Egyptians did not so designate their months for the first time in the age of the Ptolemies. They are, on the contrary, thus designated throughout all the Pharaonic monuments; so that this notation can be shown on contemporary monuments much earlier than the second period, 1780 B.C.[9]

In so far, therefore, as the establishment of this designation depends upon the above coincidence, it is mathematically certain that it must have occurred in or about the year 3285 B.C. According to our criticism of the Lists and Monuments, this is the date of the 3rd Dynasty, which was contemporaneous with the 2nd,

[8] Recherches sur l'Année vague des Égyptiens. Par M. Biot. Lues à l'Académie des Inscriptions le 30 mars, et à l'Académie des Sciences le 4 avril 1831. 4.

[9] Lepsius has shown that the signs of the months are found on the very oldest monuments, the end of the 3rd and 4th Dynasties (Einl. p. 220.). He found the 5 Epagomenæ, with their well-known signs, on the monuments of the 12th (p. 146.); at all events, therefore, long before 1780.

and the traditional epoch from which the great organic institutions of the Old-Egyptian empire dated.[10]

B.

THE CANICULAR CYCLE OF 1400 YEARS MUST HAVE BEEN INSTITUTED IN EGYPT NOT LATER THAN ABOUT 2800, AND NOT EARLIER THAN 3300 B.C.[11]

IN order to extend our inquiry into the commencement of the notation of the months by means of astronomy, we must introduce into it another element—the CANICULAR PERIOD, the Cycle of Sothis, or Sirius.

We learn from the trustworthy testimony of Censorinus that the Egyptians possessed a Great Year, which they styled the Sothiac Year, because on the first day of it the sun rose at the same moment as Sirius-Sothis. He states that one of these great years commenced 100 years before his time. The date at which he wrote is the year 238, in the consulship of Antoninus Pius II. and Bruttius Præsens. In that year, A.D. 139, the Egyptian year really commenced with the 20th of July of the Julian year, and in that year also Sirius rose in Central Egypt about seven o'clock, consequently only some few hours later than is assumed. Four years afterwards, therefore, this heliacal rising took place about a day after the beginning of the new year, and so, after four times 365 years, about a whole civil year later. Hence the Sothiac cycle appears to be a period of 1460 years; in the 1461st Egyptian year the first of Thoth again coincided with the same day of the Julian year. Consequently the year 1322 B.C. is the beginning of that cycle which ended A.D. 139. The first of Thoth

[10] According to Lepsius' chronology, in the 4th Dynasty.

[11] Upon this point we refer our readers to Lepsius, p. 157. et seq.

really fell in that year on the 19–20th of July. This will appear by reckoning back from the 29th of August, 30 B.C. (the introduction of the fixed year), in which the first of Thoth was then settled in order to introduce the fixed year.

As the solstice, being the commencement of the inundation, and consequently of the Water Season, was the great turning point of Egyptian life, and Sirius the brightest of all the fixed stars, it seems very natural that the coincidence of the heliacal rising of that star with the solstice and the inundation should be marked and regarded by the Egyptians with especial attention and favour. The observation of a single life was sufficient to show that this coincidence fell off at the rate of one day in every four years. The recurrence of the coincidence at the end of 1460 years was, therefore, to an Egyptian the most natural cycle.

Astronomers were early struck by the fact that this star, owing to its position in relation to the latitude and longitude, must, from the precession of the equinoxes, have risen nearly in the same proportion later, as the Julian year, which was about 11′ 12″ too long, ran more and more into the solar year. This was the only reason why the heliacal rising of Sirius, from 3300 B.C. down to a few centuries after Christ, could always coincide in Egypt with the beginning of the same day (the 20th of July). It was the guiding star of their history.

C.

SYNOPSIS OF THE EPOCHS OF 1505 AND 1460 YEARS.

IN summing up these two inquiries, the first observation to be made is that the commencement of the notation of months in Egypt must have occurred at a period when the first of Thoth fell on the 25th of October (according to the present reckoning of the solstice at the 22nd of June), and, consequently, within the period of the national development of Egypt in the years 1780 and 3285. On the other hand, the coincidence of the heliacal rising of Sirius on the first of Thoth, about the time of the solstice (beginning of the Water Season), took place in the following years B.C.:

1322 — 2782 — 4242.

Of these five epochs, the year 3285 alone possesses the astronomical peculiarity that in it, not merely the first of Thoth falls at the very time its sign requires (the beginning of the Green Season), but that the heliacal rising of Sirius also coincides exactly with the solstice and the beginning of the inundation, and that this coincidence was maintained for several centuries. This will be seen clearly by the following table (Biot, p. 57.):[12]

[12] From the importance of this proof we append Biot's own remarks upon this table, and his exposition of the singular peculiarity of the year 3285 (Année vague, p. 57.):— "Il est possible que ce tableau dépasse l'étendue des temps où l'année vague de 365 jours a été réellement en usage. Le calcul qui nous l'a donné indique seulement des concordances numériques. C'est à l'archéologie qu'il appartient de fixer, parmi ses époques, les limites auxquelles on peut remonter avec certitude, d'après les monumens jusqu'ici connus. Toutefois la rétrogradation purement numérique de la notation égyptienne amène ici une singulière rencontre. C'est la coïncidence, jour pour jour, du solstice d'été de l'an —3285 avec le 20 juillet julien,

Year of the Julian Period (Scaliger).	Date B. C.	Date of the movable first of Thoth.	Date of the Summer Solstice.
−76	−4790	4. December	1. August.
+1429	−3285	22. November	20. July.
+2934	−1780	11. November	9. July.
+4439	−275	31. October	27. June.[13]

[13] The connexion between the rising of Sirius on the first of Thoth and the above dates is as follows:

1322. Sirius rises 14—15 days after the solstice, i. e. after the inundation. Consequently it could not mark the beginning of the year.

2782. Sirius rises 3—4 days after the inundation, and the distance constantly increases. Consequently it also could not mark the beginning of the year.

4242. Sirius rises 12 days before the inundation, and consequently cannot serve that purpose.

---

conséquemment avec le lever héliaque de Sirius en Égypte. Pour savoir à quel point cette rencontre était exacte, j'ai calculé la position de Sirius pour cette année-là, au moyen des méthodes les plus précises que l'astronomie puisse fournir. J'ai cherché alors quelle longitude cette position assignait au soleil au moment du lever héliaque sous la latitude de 30°, qui était celle de Memphis et d'Héliopolis; car, pour de si anciennes époques, on ne peut pas placer le centre de la religion dans les parties les plus basses de l'Égypte. Enfin, dans ce calcul j'ai employé l'arc de 11° pour l'abaissement du soleil sous l'horizon au moment où l'étoile devient visible, ce qui est précisement la valeur adoptée par Ptolemée pour l'Égypte, comme l'a démontré M. Ideler. Avec tous ces soins j'ai trouvé le soleil exactement solsticial en —3285, le jour du lever héliaque de Sirius à Memphis. Or, que le solstice arrivât aussi cette année-là le 20 juillet julien, c'est ce qui ne fait pas non plus de doute; car M. Bouvard a calculé de nouveau ce phénomène, en introduisant dans les formules les valeurs les mieux rectifiées des masses des planètes, ainsi que le nombre récemment adopté par M. Bessel, pour la constante de la précession; il n'en est résulté qu'une différence de quelques minutes sur le lieu du soleil au même instant. Enfin, la coïncidence de ce 20 juillet julien avec le premier jour de Pachon vague ne souffre pas davantage d'incertitude, étant une simple concordance numérique de calendrier. On doit donc regarder comme indubitable qu'en l'an —3285 Sirius se leva héliaquement sous le parallèle de Memphis le 20 juillet, le jour même du solstice d'été, et qu'en même

Hence the year 3285 is the central point of the period at which Sirius, rising with the solstice and inundation, might serve to mark the beginning of the year. From it we may go down to the year 2800, and up to the year 3800, without any considerable change. This allows a margin of 1000 years for observations. The early rising of the brightest of the fixed stars, however, with the solstice, which then fell between the 10th and 20th of July, being of constant recurrence, it required at most 100 or 120 years' observations to come to the conclusion that the year of 365 days commenced every four years one day too soon, and consequently was a whole month in advance in 120 years; so that, only at the end of 1460 years, the beginning of the 1461st year again coincided with the heliacal rising of the star. Biot remarks that a similar cycle might have been made

temps la notation égyptienne des mois, d'accord avec les phénomènes solaires, marquait à ce même jour, au même 20 juillet, le commencement solsticial de la crue du Nil.

"Pour bien sentir ce que la rencontre de ces trois faits a de remarquable, il faut considérer que le concours du lever héliaque de Sirius avec le solstice d'été a subsisté, non pas exactement, mais approximativement durant plusieurs siècles, avant et après l'époque de —3285. Car en 500 ans, par exemple, ces levers n'ont dû s'écarter du solstice que de trois ou quatre jours; et, comme leur observation comporte au moins cette limite d'incertitude, il s'ensuit que, pendant cinq ou six siècles avant et après l'époque précise de —3285, Sirius pouvait, sans erreur sensible, être considéré comme se levant héliaquement au solstice d'été. Or, que dans tout ce long intervalle le point précis mathématique du lever héliaque solsticial soit aussi celui où la notation égyptienne des mois est en concordance rigoureuse avec le soleil, de sorte que le commencement de la crue du Nil s'y trouve exactement écrit pour ce même solstice, sans erreur au simple hasard des nombres, et qui offre bien plutôt l'apparence d'un arrangement volontairement établi. Mais alors, pour faire cet arrangement si juste, il devient nécessaire de supposer des observations de levers héliaques et de solstices suivies long-temps avant l'époque où on le trouve réalisé, c'est à-dire avant —3285. Car il n'a pu l'être si exactement que par des moyennes prises entre de nombreux résultats. L'imagination hésite à remonter vers une antiquité de tant de siècles, et cependant l'accord de lever héliaque de —3285

with the year of 360 days; the only difference being that, in that case, the period which elapsed would have been much shorter, as there would have been an advance of $5\frac{1}{4}$ days every year, and the coincidence with Sirius would have occurred between the 69th and 70th years. At present, however, there is no trace of such a system.

This learned astronomer, therefore, considers the period from 2800 to 3800 as the probable epoch in which the monthly notation was instituted, as well as the Sothiac cycle, providing there was then a year of 365 days.[14]

avec l'indication de solstice dans la notation pour cette même année n'a pu être établi après coup, puisqu'il faudrait alors qu'en créant la notation de l'année vague on l'eût exprès disposée de telle sorte, qu'en retournant en arrière elle remontât juste au lever héliaque de —3285, ce qui eût été bien plus difficile encore que de l'y adapter au moment même. Quoiqu'il en puisse être, les cinq ou six siècles qui précédèrent et qui suivirent cette époque mémorable, comprennent l'intervalle de temps pendant lequel durent naître en Égypte les traditions qui, associant le lever héliaque de Sirius avec le commencement de la crue du Nil, firent considérer cet astre comme le principe excitateur des eaux du fleuve et comme portant avec lui la fécondité. Ce fut alors seulement qu'il put intéresser assez pour devenir l'objet d'un culte qui l'associait à tous les mystères, et le retraçait dans tous les monuments. Ces idées n'avaient pas pu naître à des époques fort antérieures; car alors le lever héliaque de Sirius précédait de plus en plus le commencement même le plus faiblement perceptible de la crue du Nil; et elles ne peuvent pas davantage être nées à des époques fort postérieures, car dès lors le lever héliaque, s'éloignant du solstice en sens contraire, retarda graduellement sur ce phénomène, au lieu de le précéder, de manière qu'en —1780 il lui était déjà postérieur de 11 jours, et de 23 jours en —275 sous les Ptolémées. Il n'y a donc réellement que l'époque de —3285 qui ait pu, selon la vieille tradition rapportée par Porphyre, faire considérer par les Égyptiens Sirius comme ayant présidé à la naissance du monde. Ainsi l'antiquité de la tradition qui nous les a transmises se trouve bornée par la date rigoureuse du phénomène physique qui leur a donné naissance. N'est-il pas frappant de voir la notation si simple, je dirais presque si naïve, de l'année égyptienne, remonter, par ses périodes révolutives, précisément à l'époque exacte de ce phénomène traditionnel?"

[14] All doubt is removed by Lepsius' discovery of the Epagomenæ in the 12th Dynasty (Einl. p. 146.), as remarked above.

In examining more closely this ingenious calculation, it appears to be fully established that the coincidence of the heliacal rising of Sirius with the summer solstice, and the correspondence of the months with their signs, took place in the year 3285, i. e. nearly thirty-three centuries before our era. Towards the end of that period (2800), it is true that the former of these coincidences still subsisted, but not so the latter. Assuming that there was then as afterwards a year of 365 days, the first of Thoth had advanced 120 days, and coincided with the solstice and Sirius, but the notation of the months had become three signs in advance.

We may, therefore, suppose several cases. We may first assume that, about the year 3200 or 3300, the notation of months was instituted, and that the commencement of the Sothiac cycle was remarked at the same time. If so, however, it is singular, and not easy to explain, why they did not make the most certain and most sacred point the beginning of the year, and the first Water month (Pachon) the first month.[15]

This brings us to a second assumption. The signs of the months were settled without taking into consideration that there would be a time when the fourth month after the solstice would coincide with the heliacal rising of Sirius. It was only when this starting point of the civil year advanced nearer and nearer, that is, at latest when the coincidence actually occurred, or about 500 years after the former period, that the idea crossed them of the passage of the civil year of 365 days through the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$. Sirius and Thoth were the inseparable characters and signs of the commencement of a great cycle, and so they remained to the latest times.

It can hardly be, therefore, that the determination of this cycle, an event so intimately connected with the

[15] See Lepsius' explanation of this point in the Supplement at the end of this Section.

whole of their religious institutions, was effected so late as 2782, because at that time Sirius rose three days after the solstice and inundation. It may, however, easily have been made at an earlier period.

D.

TRACES OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN A CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS YEAR, AND OF THE NOTATION OF THE PRECESSION OF THE MOVABLE YEAR IN THE CANICULAR CYCLE.

I. The Want of, and the Possibility of making, such a Notation without Intercalary Days.

This fact almost necessarily compels us to assume the existence of a double year: a civil year, inseparably connected with the land and its cultivation, which coincided with the 1st of Thoth, and originally commenced on the 20th of October; and a sacred or sacerdotal year, which commenced with the solstice, and which implied indeed that in the primeval model year the heliacal rising of Sirius was coincident with the solstice and inundation. The question is, then, whether the Egyptians observed a four-yearly intercalary year together with the cyclical year of 1460 years, which started from the coincidence of the solstice and the heliacal rising of Sirius and the swelling of the Nile at the first hour of the first day of Thoth. To which we reply, that the four-yearly intercalary year was assuredly not in use, though it was noted by the priests and formed the Unit for the great year.

When we consider the observation of the connexion between Sirius and the year of 365 days, and between it and the solstice and inundation, as the central point of the astronomical, constitutional, and religious divisions of the year among the Egyptians, there can really be

very little reason to doubt that they had a means of *marking the progress of the cyclical year*. This, however, simply means that they must have possessed a method of counting the years of the cycle. It is true that no trace has yet been discovered on the monuments of the use of such a mode of calculating dates in civil life. All that we find is chronological data according to the regnal years of their kings. This is no argument, however, against so natural an assumption. The monuments furnish no sure evidence about the Apis period of 25 years, and yet there can be no doubt that the ancient Egyptians did make use of it. There could be no difficulty in making such a computation. As long as the heliacal rising of Sirius coincided with the solstice, it was only necessary to multiply the number of days between it and the 1st of Pachon by 4, in order to get the year of the cycle. In later times, again, religious ceremonies furnished the readiest means of making the same calculations. The year of 365 days was the civil year, and most of the sacred ceremonies took place on fixed days of the months of that year, and consequently occurred upon them throughout all the seasons. It is probable, however, though there is no proof of it as yet, that the details of these were reckoned by the primeval year, in which the 1st of Thoth commenced with the heliacal rising of Sirius. Biot even fancies he has discovered two proofs of it[16]; but they will not satisfy anybody.

II. PROOF FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF THE MOVABLE FESTIVALS.

THE best evidence on this head would be obtained, if we could get some more accurate knowledge of the details of the great festival of Isis. It has been already remarked that in the year 70 B.C. it took place a month after the autumnal equinox; that in the time of Erato-

[16] P. 146. seq.

sthenes (about 200 B.C.) it coincided with that equinox, and, consequently, 720 years previously (900 B.C.), with the vernal equinox. It is clear, then, that in 1322 B.C. it must have occurred from 3 to 3½ months earlier, that is, about the time of the winter solstice.[17]

These movable festivals rendered it almost necessary that a computation of the years from the beginning of the cycle, that is, from 1 to 1460, should be made: while, on the other hand, by comparing their original place with the actual one in the current year, they had the means of making such a calculation. When any festival which originally occurred on the 1st of Thoth took place on the 1st of the following month, 120 years of the cycle must have elapsed. It was still easier to mark the cyclical year, when, together with these movable festivals, there were others connected with the immovable points in the year, such as the solstices and the equinoxes. We must necessarily assume that this was the case, indeed it is proved by the festival of the Nile. The day of the civil year in which such a festival took place, multiplied by 4, gives the date of the year and the real beginning of the cycle. It was easy to calculate these fixed points after nature had ceased to indicate the beginning of the year.

A careful examination of the monuments as well as the hieroglyphical notices of the year will, no doubt, furnish traces of such notations.[18] It is fortunate, on

[17] Lepsius (Einl. p. 62.) states that there is a complete calendar of the festivals of the time of Ramses III., the beginning of the 20th Dynasty, on the outside of his temple at Medinet-Aboo. There are fragments of one of the 20th Dynasty, and some of later date, in other places. These have been published by the late Mr. J. B. Greene, an American, under the title of "Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855:" fol., Paris, 1855.

[18] These expectations have since been fulfilled by Lepsius' discoveries. In the first place he has found the key to the astronomical representations of the Pharaonic as well as Greco-Roman times, which were previously sealed books. There will doubtless be a good deal of obscurity on some points till we find astronomical papyri. But the

the other hand, that records of the actual use of this period have come down to us in the classics.

III. EXPRESS TESTIMONY.

1. *The Testimony of Vettius Valens as to the Double Year.*

ACCORDING to Bainbridge's quotation (comp. Ideler, i. pp. 126. 171.), Vettius Valens (of the age of the Antonines, unfortunately not yet published) expressly states that the Egyptians made a distinction between a *natural* and a *civil* year: "The Egyptians commenced their (*civil*) year on the 1st of Thoth,; their *natural* year at the heliacal rising (ἐπιτολή) of the Dog-star." This cannot mean the then fixed year, in which the 1st of Thoth fell on the 29th of August, but must be intended as expressing the distinction between the civil movable, and a fixed astronomical year.

2. *The Testimony of Porphyry and a Scholiast.*

Porphyry (De Antro Nymph. p. 246. ed. Cantab.) says: "The Egyptians do not begin their year with the Waterman, but with the Crab; for with the Crab comes the star Sothis, which the Greeks call the Dog-star. The *rising of Sothis*, however, *is their new year.*"[19] Absurd as that definition was as regards later times, it was correct in respect to the primeval times.

The Scholiast on Aratus (l. 152.) says: "The whole constellation (of the Lion) is dedicated to the Sun, for then the Nile rises, and the Dog-star rises at the

discovery of the year 1202 as the date of Ramses VI., in the representation on his tomb, is most satisfactory. (Einl. p. 115.) That on the tomb of Ramses IV. is still illegible. He having been the eldest of four brothers must have reigned but a short time. About 1275 is the last known year of his predecessor; so that he cannot have reigned later than about 1220. See Supplemental Volume.

[19] Νουμηνία in Ptolemy, the first of the Epagomenæ, consequently the beginning of a period generally. Ideler, loc. cit. Comp. Lepsius, notes, p. 150.

eleventh hour (dawn). At this period the year commences; and the Dog-star and its rising are considered as sacred to Isis."

3. *The Testimony of Horapollo.*

The testimony of Horapollo is the most remarkable, although no notice has hitherto been taken of it in reference to this point (Hieroph. i. 8.): "In order to represent the current year, the Hierophants drew a representation of a quarter of an acre (a land measure of 150 feet). To express it in words, they make use of the word *quarter* (τέταρτον); for they say, that between one rising of the star Sothis and another there is a quarter of a day to be added; so that the year of God consists of 365 days. For this reason also the Egyptians add every four years a supplemental day; for four quarters make a whole day." This is the reading of all the MSS. Salmasius, however, thought the expression, "the year of God consists of 365 days," meant the ordinary solar year, and so concluded that the words "and a *quarter*" had been lost at the end. But the year of God (the Sun-God, consequently the solar year) is the very year of 365 days which was in use at that epoch. Four years, as Horapollo says, make a day, consequently it takes 1460 years to make up 365 days.

Here we have, moreover, the express statement that the priests noted the current year in reference to the cycle. Thus every four years they obtained a □ of 100 ells, or 150 feet. This notation was so important to them that they called the year a quarter, because it added a quarter of a day to the year of God, on which the earth, stars, seasons, and zodiacal signs were again in harmony.[20]

[20] Lepsius (Einl. p. 53.) also quotes the passage ii. 89., which expressly states the very thing we are looking for, namely that the ἔτος (year-unit, quadrennial cycle) consisted of four ἐνιαυτοί (single years of 365 days): τὸ δὲ ἔτος κατ' Αἰγυπτίους τετράρων ἐνιαυτῶν. I

4. *The Passage in Strabo about the Intercalary Year.*

There is a passage in Strabo which certainly has been quoted to prove that the ancient Egyptians had an intercalary cycle of four years. Benfey and Stern, indeed, have made use of it in proof of the existence of an intercalary cycle of 120 years with an intercalary month, as amongst the Persians.

As the words now stand, Strabo says, in the seventeenth book (p. 816. Cas.)[21]: "In order to complete the year, a certain portion of a year being required, the Egyptians make up *a certain period out of whole days and as many whole years* as is requisite of those fractions (of a day) to make a complete day." These latter words certainly may mean an intercalary cycle of four years, but cannot mean one of 120 years. If such were the case, Strabo must have taken the Julian year, which was already introduced into Egypt, for the Old-Egyptian year. This would be in itself improbable, as he (p. 806. Cas.) had said just before: "Plato and Eudoxus, after thirteen years' study of Egyptian history, have found out the secret of the length of their year. They (the Egyptians) added on to the 365 days the supernumerary portions of the day and night." We should have thought that Plato and Eudoxus would hardly have required so much research to discover an intercalary cycle of four years.

Strabo, indeed, as appears from other passages, was

am indebted to him for a remark to me in 1850, that my view of this passage in Horapollo explains why the palm branch, the sign of the year, is sometimes found planted on a square.

[21] Λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐνθαῦτα ἱερεῖς· τούτων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας μὴ κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἥλιον, τοῖς τριακονθημέροις δώδεκα μησὶν ἐπαγόντων πέντε ἡμέρας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐπιτρέχοντος μορίου τινὸς τῆς ἡμέρας, περίοδόν τινα συντιθέασιν ἐξ ὅλων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὅλων ἐνιαυτῶν τοσούτων (Casaub. proposes τοσαύτην), ὅσα μόρια τὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα συνελθόντα ποιεῖ ἡμέραν.

aware of the excess of the quarter of a day. But, under the former supposition, what was the meaning of the words: "they made up *a certain period* out of whole days and as many whole years"? By *a certain period* he may either have meant the section of time *after* which the intercalation took place, or that which served as intercalation. If (under the supposition of a cycle of four years) he meant to indicate the first section, what was the use of mentioning *days*, instead of saying "after every four years they intercalated a whole day"? But if he meant to give the length of the intercalary period, it is sheer nonsense.

The notion of a day being really intercalated every four years, is contrary to all the statements of the classics. Herodotus notoriously makes no mention of any intercalary period, and only speaks of a year of 365 days with months of equal length. His considering such a system perfectly well adapted for establishing a fixed year (i. 4.), does not alter the fact of the year running on from 365 to 365 days. Diodorus goes more into detail, and shows more acquaintance with the subject. He says (i. 50.): "They do not regulate their months by the moon, but by the sun, inasmuch as they have months of thirty days, at the end of every twelve of which they add on *five days and a quarter*, and so fill up the cycle of the year. They have no *intercalary months*, nor do they subtract days, as most of the Greeks do." This clearly excludes intercalary days, as well as months. For even if this latter phrase do not absolutely prove it, yet the number of 5 epagomenæ is incontestable; and assuming an intercalary cycle of four years, there would have been every fifth year 6 instead of 5 epagomenæ. In this calculation, however, the odd quarter is to be added.

The noteworthy scholiast on the Aratea of Cæsar Germanicus (quoting evidently from the Hermetic books) says that the notion of an intercalary day or month was

an abomination to the Egyptians (ii. p. 71. ed. Lips.): "The king was conducted by the priest of Isis to the place which is called the most holy (Adytos), and was compelled to swear that he would neither add a month or day which they might be obliged to use as a festival[22], but that they should adhere to the 365 days, as was the practice of their fathers."

Biot thinks that Strabo meant to imply that the Egyptians were aware that there was a difference of seven days and six hours every thirty years between the civil and solar years, consequently twenty-nine days every 120 years, and that this was the astronomical origin of the great festivals (Panegyries) of thirty years. According to this, then, they must have calculated the progress of the cycle. But, as already remarked, Strabo's words will not admit of such an interpretation. As they stand, they must refer to the intercalary period of four years, which is excluded by all the other authorities, and, indeed, by Strabo himself in the other passage. Hipparchus, it is true, had a clearer idea of the real length of the year than as expressed by a quarter of a day; but still, Strabo, as well as Diodorus, might consider the system of the Greek calendar as more imperfect than that of the Egyptians, without supposing the knowledge of the latter to extend beyond the quarter of a day. We have referred repeatedly to the passage in Horapollo which proves that they did not intercalate a day every four years, but that they took it into account, and marked it. Julius Cæsar may, indeed, have learned from them the correct method of the quadrennial intercalation. It was the sensible and practical application of a right observation of the length of the year, but never acted upon in Egypt for sacerdotal reasons, for the purpose of establishing a fixed solar year.

We have only further to remark, therefore, that Strabo

[22] Quem in diem festum immutarent.

did not express himself very happily in describing the well-known period of four years, which the Egyptians did not use as an intercalation, though they noted it, in order to leave a whole year unreckoned at the end of 365 of these four years (i.e. every 1460 years). If this be not admitted, we must assume that there is a mistake in the text. The reading must be: "so many of these parts (quarter days) are required to make up a year" (ἐνιαυτόν instead of ἡμέραν). His meaning in that case would be, the Egyptians fix a certain period consisting of whole parts (in reference to the quarter days which were to be intercalated, so that there might be no odd quarter over), and (in reference to the intercalary period) of whole years, that is, so many as there were quarter days required to make a whole year, i. e. four times 365 = 1460. Some hyper-ingenious emendator, who knew of no other than the Julian intercalary period, must then have altered the passage for the worse into the present version of the MSS. It, however, is capable of explanation, we think, upon the hypothesis above enunciated as the text now stands.

5. *Explanation of the Passage in Herodotus about the Sun rising* twice *in the West.*

Two points, at all events, are established: that the Egyptians did not intercalate a day, but did take account of it; and that from the sum total of entire days they formed their divine or solar year, that is, the cycle of 1460 years. There is no question but that Herodotus himself obtained information about the divine or solar year, which he did not understand, but which he nevertheless recorded in his usual honest way.

The priests told him (ii. 142.[23]), that, during the

[23] Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἠθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι, ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δὶς ἐπανατεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὶς καταδῦναι.

period from Menes to Sethos (about 773 B.C.) the sun rose (ἀνατεῖλαι) four times in an extraordinary manner; that where it then set, it had twice risen (ἐπανατεῖλαι), and where it then rose (ἀνατέλλει) it had twice set, without occasioning any alteration in Egypt, either as regarded the products of the earth or river, or in reference to disease or mortality. Various attempts were made to deduce some chronological data from this remark, which Letronne tried to dispose of by refuting the unphilological assumptions advanced in support of them. He saw in it only one more, in addition to the many notices in the classics, respecting extraordinary natural phenomena and changes in the courses of the stars.

There can however be no doubt, upon an unprejudiced view of the passage, that the priests did mean to give Herodotus a chronological statement connected with these phenomena. His words certainly are enigmatical. There is a mistake either in the former or latter part of the sentence. For if the sun twice set in the east, it must naturally have also risen at the same time twice in the west; which makes, not four periods, but two. We must suppose that the special facts were what he was really told, and, as usual, reported faithfully, and the erroneous deduction from them his own. This furnishes us with a very striking solution. During the course of the Sothiac cycle, the beginning of the year gradually passed through all parts of the heavens; and at the middle of it was at the exactly opposite point to that of the normal solar year. When, therefore, the priests spoke of this passage of the movable solar year through the opposite points in the heavens, they may have said, or Herodotus may have understood them to mean, that the sun rose at the opposite side of the heavens, that is, in the west, and set at the other side. If they wished to describe the duration of two such periods, expressing it in this way, they would have

said that it occurred twice. We shall shortly find that this was perfectly correct.[24]

Tacitus likewise mentions the number 1460 as that of the Phœnix period, which, according to Herodotus and others, consisted of 500 years. Ptolemy, lastly, has clearly adopted the computation for the epoch of 25 years, for the length of a cycle of 1460 years.

If, then, all the notices regarding the Sothiac year tend to the conclusion that the sacred ordinances were based upon it, by the commencement of which, as being the representation of the primeval and model year,

[24] This view has latterly been corroborated by Böckh's emendation of the passage, and Lepsius' learned explanation of it. Böckh (Manetho, 36. seq.) argues that, according to Herodotus' own mode of expressing himself, the words ἐξ ἡθέων must be interpreted like i. 15.; in short that ἤθη simply means "habitations." This would require ἀναστῆναι instead of ἀνατεῖλαι, which makes it perfectly intelligible. It seems to me that Pomponius Mela also understood it in this sense, for he says (i. 9.): "Mandatum literis servant, dum Ægyptii sunt, *quater cursus suos vertisse sidera*..." Lepsius explains it thus (Einl. 193.): "In the civil calendar also there was a day of the summer and of the winter solstice, of the vernal and of the autumnal equinox; they had a northern and a southern hemisphere, just as in the natural year. Now as these two circles gradually change their relative positions, it will happen that the true sun, at a fixed point in the ecliptic, the summer solstice for instance, will, at each of these periods, rise once on the day of the summer solstice of the civil year, at the top (ὕψωμα) of the northern hemisphere; then go down southwards, καταβαίνει τὸν νότον, as the astrologers said, and will again go southwards for precisely the same period to the opposite point of the winter solstice. After this it again takes upwards a northerly course, ἀναβαίνει τὸν βορρᾶν, and lastly goes down again to the north, when it returns to the point from which it started; for the solstices were always considered as in the horizon, and the vernal equinox as up in the sky (μεσουρανεῖ). Now in those years in which the sun set solstitially on the day of the civil summer solstice (κατέβη), it rose solstitially on the day of the winter solstice (ἀνέβη), and vice versâ. This astrologico-symbolical mode of expression was doubtless of very ancient date, and naturally was only understood by the priests, and took the exoteric shape of legends, such as those in Herodotus called Egyptian, and as we find them in a still more individualised shape also in Greek mythology."

all computations were made, the simple conclusion will follow, that we require no other assumption, and are not justified in making any. The coincidence of the heliacal rising of Sirius with the summer solstice is the grand fixed point of Egyptian observation. To this point all their observations of the heavens and earth were directed during a period of nearly a thousand years ending 2800 B.C., the signs of which never did and never could recur. This, then, must have been the commencement of the Sothiac cycle, which, again, implies an earlier or contemporary assumption of the Epagomenæ. Now the year 2782 happens to be precisely the commencement of the divine Sothiac year preceding 1322. The notation of the months, according to which Thoth (the beginning of the civil year) was placed unchangeably 120 days after the solstice, may then have long been in use. The excess of the quarter of a day, owing to the connexion between its heliacal rising on the day of the solstice and the year of 365 days, may have been long known. The notion might therefore naturally arise of making the coincidence of the civil year, commencing with Sirius, the beginning of the great cycle which the year must pass through before it could again be in harmony with the stars and with nature. No change was allowed to be made: the arrangement of the festivals remained bound up with the model year, and the secret of the true year was as completely kept as the key to it was carefully preserved.

E.

THE APIS CYCLE OF 25 YEARS, AND ITS CONNEXION WITH THE SOTHIAC CYCLE.

THE Apis Cycle was notoriously a period of 25 years. It appears to me capable of proof that it necessarily had

relation both to the lunar and solar years. As Ideler has shown[25], there is not only a computation of the mean anomaly of the sun from 25 to 25 years of the Philippine era in the tables of Ptolemy, but that there are, in the sixth book of the Almagest, tables for calculating the mean new and full moons, in which there are progressive periods of that number of years (εἰκοσιπενταετηρίδες). 309 mean months are only 1^h 8′ 33″ less than 25 Egyptian years. To this we may add, that the Apis cycle of 25 years thus produced the same result, in regard to the coincidence of the lunar phases with the same days of the Egyptian year, as the Sothiac cycle did for the recurrence of the heliacal rising of Sirius with the beginning of the civil year.

There is a remarkable circumstance, though, as far as I am aware, it has not been hitherto noticed, that these tables of Ptolemy go on from 1, 26, 51, exactly up to the 1476th year. This appears to me to depend upon the following fact: 59 Apis cycles make up the Sothiac year of 1460 years, with 15 years over. If they had left off at the 58th Apis cycle, there would have been 10 years of the Sothiac cycle remaining. But this carries us further. Originally, at least, the two cycles must have begun together. In the 1450th year, therefore, of the Sothiac year the phases of the moon would have been nearly 3 days ($2\frac{2}{3}$) behind the day at which it commenced; and the renewal of the cycle offered the simplest means of making the Apis cycle recommence in such a way, that people should be fully aware of the beginning of the new course.[26]

By this arrangement of the two systems, those of the lunar and solar years, it might be supposed that the intention was, by means of these cycles, to combine the two; and that previously the civil year had been a

[25] P. 182.

[26] The discovery of the Apis tombs has led to still further explanations. 1855.

lunar year of 354 days. The notation of the 12 moons might exist just as well with it as with the year of 360 days.[27]

F.

THE PHŒNIX PERIOD.

THE Phœnix Period, as noticed by Ideler and others, must be connected with the Sothiac cycle. Herodotus was told in Egypt distinctly that it was a cycle of 500 years, while Tacitus also obtained certain data which made it range uniformly with that cycle. 500 years are so nearly a third of the Sothiac cycle (instead of 487), that we must suppose it to be the third of the solar year. At the end of 500 (487 years) the signs of the months had got exactly four places wrong.

But we think this may be carried out further than has yet been done. The commencement of the Canicular cycle implies that the rising of Sirius corresponded with the 1st of Thoth. But this is a displacement of four months; for Thoth, according to his sign, begins 120 days after the ancient heliacal rising of Sirius. Hence, it was only at the end of 487 civil years, computed from the point of the proper notation of the months, that the 1st of Thoth corresponded with the

[27] Lepsius' investigations on this point will be mentioned in the supplement. We will only notice here two very important facts. He has proved, in the first place, that the festival of Apis coincided with that of the Nile (Hapi is written just as well with the Apis ox as with the Nile), and that the lunar cycle carried out by it begins with the new moon nearest to the solstice, and consequently to the inundation (pp. 157—160.). In the second place (p. 161.) he has called attention to the circumstance of the Egyptian number of the great cosmic year of 36,525 years clearly depending upon the Apis period, and its connexion with the Canicular cycle, for it is merely the multiple of the two (1461 + 25.).

rising of Sirius. This can be explained historically and astronomically. It is an astronomical fact that the notation of months is more ancient than the establishment of the Sothiac cycle, and in fact by just about 500 years. In the restored Egyptian chronology we have plenty of room for this period of time. Concurrent with it was the lunar cycle by Apis periods, perhaps originally with the view of correcting the year of 354 and 360 days; twenty of these make 500 years or one Apis cycle.

We must, therefore, conclude that the vague lunar year was the original year. The Apis cycle was intended to keep the solar and lunar years, perhaps even the year of 354 and 360 days, in as regular order as possible.

G.

THE TRIAKONTAETERIDÆ.

It is possible that the period which occurs so often on the monuments, the festivals of the Triakontaeteridæ, may belong to the same category of which we have spoken above. All we at present know of it, however, is from the Greek translation of the inscription of Rosetta, that it was one of thirty years. These festivals are mentioned in the best Pharaonic times.[28] The great

[28] Lepsius, who has given the first complete explanation of the hieroglyphic group, Heb-Set, the festival of Set (where, however, neither the god Set nor Sothis can be signified, owing to its having a different determinative), has demonstrated the use of it, and consequently that of the cycle of 30 years, as far back as the 6th Dynasty (Einl. p. 162.). The circumstance of the king being usually styled "Lord of the festival of Set, like Ptah," led him to conclude that the Triakontaeteridæ were especially dedicated to that divinity, and were of Memphite origin. [Mr. Birch reads Set heb, "celebration of the festival." 1858.]

sacred popular festivals, the Panegyries, which are mentioned on the Rosetta stone, and exhibited in several hieroglyphical representations, were holden in them. Biot has remarked that the object may have been to compute the cyclical years, inasmuch as after four Panegyries (120 years) the difference between the solar and civil year was just twenty-nine days. This is very possible.[29]

All these facts lead to the conclusion, therefore, that the lunar year was the basis of Egyptian astronomy.[30]

[29] Lepsius is equally unable with Ideler to give any further account of its origin. He remarks (p. 163. seq.) that the equational period of 120 years might just as well have been expressed by divisions of 60 years or even less. Thirty may perhaps have been preferred in order that every king might have a fair probability of being styled "Lord of the Panegyries." Besides, it is worthy of remark, that the festival of 30 years was celebrated at Patavium, as being of Trojan origin and introduced by Antenor, whom the legends connected with Egypt (p. 165.).

[30] Lepsius gives the most striking proof of this in Egyptian mythology, in his brilliant development of the old astronomico-astrological year of the Egyptians. We thus obtain an explanation of the singular myth in Plutarch (De Is. et Os. c. 12.), who mentions that Hermes played at dice with Selene, and won from her five days. "Chronos, i. e. Seb, the starry time, and Rhea, i. e. Netpe (Net-hur), the starry space, were privately married and begat five children, the Planets. The Sun discovered it, and was enraged because there was no more room for new stars either in the heavens or in the year. She uttered, therefore, the curse against Netpe, that her children should neither be born in a month nor in the year. Netpe in her dilemma applied to the crafty Hermes, to Thoth, the god of wisdom and primeval master of the astrologers. He devised the following stratagem, after having himself embraced her. He, the Moon-God, and choragus of the months and days, played in his turn with Selene, and won back from her the 72nd part of each day of the year of 360 days — as the right reading is, instead of the 70th. Out of these parts he formed five whole days, which were added on after the 12 months, and at the end of the old year, as supernumeraries. Why did he win them back from the moon? The sun and moon must originally have been in harmony. Now, however, not only has the solar year five more days than the old normal year, but the lunar year has also five days less, 355 instead of 360. What the one gained,

SUPPLEMENT.

LEPSIUS' DISCOVERY OF THE SIGNIFICATION OF THE PHŒNIX PERIOD, THAT IT IS AN ACCOMMODATION OF THE PERIOD OF 1505 YEARS TO THE PERIOD OF 1460 YEARS OR SOTHIAC CYCLE, OR A RECTIFICATION OF THE JULIAN PERIOD.

In the notes to the treatise of 1838, which forms the first section then completed of this Part, I have pointed out the vast gain which had accrued to this portion of Egyptian research from the work of Lepsius. But I have reserved for a special supplement what I consider the most important of his discoveries connected with this branch of the subject, inasmuch as it is the key-stone to the restoration of the fabric of Egyptian astronomy of which we are at present treating. I allude to his demonstration (p. 196. seq.) that the ancient Egyptians were acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes, and calculated it in a period of 1500 years.

The first thing to which he calls attention (p. 166.) is the fact of Petavius having already pointed out that during the time of the Egyptian empire the heliacal rising of Sirius in Egypt advanced in exact uniformity with the Julian year. In about 1500 years, consequently, it deviated as much from the true solstitial point as the Julian year did from the true year, namely, about eleven days.[31] Ideler had already remarked that

then, the other must have lost. In this manner, therefore, the five homeless planets, which were born afterwards, and the gods who resided in them, were enabled to come into the world; on the first of the Epagomenæ Osiris, on the 2nd Arueris, on the 3rd Typhon, on the 4th Isis, on the 5th Nephthys. This seems to me to be the whole purport of this allegorical myth, which is perhaps more apposite and clear than any other, while at the same time it throws great light on Egyptian mythology generally."—*Lepsius, Einl.* 91, 92.

31 Einl. p. 165. seq.

the Egyptians would not fail to notice this difference so soon as they had observed the heliacal rising of Sirius and the solstice, during even 120 years. There appeared, however, to be no proof that they made any use of this knowledge. The reader must consult his work (pp. 197—200.) in order to see with what sagacity he proves that the peculiarity in the Egyptian observations of the precession of the solstices consisted in their not placing it in the ecliptic but in the line of the equator, which was also the doctrine of Eudoxus, whose connexion with Egypt is universally admitted. It appears that about 400 B. C. he obtained from Egypt, together with two other spheres, a third which had reference to that precession, the only doubtful point being whether he understood it in the same sense as the Egyptians. Certain it is, that about 160 B. C. Hipparchus improved upon the Egyptian idea by placing the precession in the equator instead of the ecliptic. His assumption, however, that this precession extended over a degree in a hundred years, must have come from them, for it corresponds exactly with their calculation of the length of the Cosmic year, which they set at about 36,000 years instead of the correct one of about 26,000. The Egyptian Cosmic year, as stated in the First Book, consisted of 36,525 years. This is explainable by the connexion between the above calculation of the precession and the Sirius cycle; for, as already remarked, 36,525 is merely 1,461 multiplied by 25. It may have arisen, however, as Lepsius thinks (p. 210.), from their making the precession a trifle less than the 360th part of the sphere.

The mythico-practical exhibition of this idea was the combination of the Sothiac cycle of 1461 years with one of 1500, or three Phœnix periods of 500 years.

After Lepsius has demonstrated (p. 187.) the connexion as well as difference between the Sothiac and Phœnix cycles, which were connected with the 1st of Thoth,

both of them having commenced with the solstice, and therefore with the inundation, while the Phœnix had nothing to do with the rising of Sirius, merely connecting the inundation with the sun, he shows that the 500 years form an exact solar Tetrameny, or third part of the real period within which the year of 365 days coincides with the true solar year (1506 of the latter years). A period of 1500 years therefore appears to be a complete Apis cycle. If we assume that the Egyptians were aware that the true solar year was not a quarter of a day longer than 365 days, but about eleven minutes less, the Phœnix period would give them a means of rectification similar to that which the Gregorian calendar gives for the Julian year, only a more complete one. This latter, we know, omits at the end of each century one intercalary day, that is, four days too many in fifteen centuries, whereas the Egyptians come much nearer to the truth with their cycle of 1500 years.[32]

It is true that the existence of the Phœnix cycle and its connexion with the Sothiac furnish no proof that they accurately understood the error in the Julian year. But Lepsius has shown that they possessed all the elements necessary for ascertaining it, and that, too, from the earliest times. They divided the day (of 24 hours) into 60 parts, each of which again was subdivided into 60 parts; that is, hours of 24 minutes, and minutes of 24 seconds. They took, moreover, from the earliest times, observations of the stars, sun, and moon. A simple combination of these with each other and with the wonderfully regular rising of the Nile, would suffice to show the inadequacy of the Julian year, and at the same time supply a continual rectification of it.

Any one desirous of forming an independent judgment on this matter for himself must consult the fuller account in Lepsius. The principal points only will be here brought forward, which belong directly to our historical

[32] P. 187. seq., conf. p. 213. seq.

researches, and the explanation of which does not require any further philological details.

Sothis is recorded in the 19th Dynasty as being the beginning of the year. In the Ramesseum it is called "the star of the beginning of the year." (Einl. p. 176.) But the rising of Sirius is marked in the calendar as early as the 18th century. (Tuthmōsis III., Calendar of festivals.) The Epagomenæ are found on an extant monument of the 12th Dynasty, which will shortly have to be examined, with its well-known hieroglyphical notations. This is conclusive against Biot's idea that they were first introduced in 1780, which was a very forced one on other grounds. (Einl. p. 176.) It also refutes another notion of his, based upon a scholion on the Timæus of a doubtful character, that they were introduced by Aseth, one of the Shepherd Kings. The scholiast says he added 12 hours to the months, in order to make them up to 30 days; and 6 days to the year, so as to make it up to 365 days. Lepsius properly remarks (p. 179. notes), that if the scholion states any fact at all, it can only be this, that the king in question converted the lunar year of 354 days, which was in use among his Semitic tribes, into one of 360, by means of months of 30 days, and then added the 5 epagomenæ. This mixture of the Semitic and Egyptian element seems to me, however, in the highest degree improbable.

Lepsius has collected from the monuments about forty Lists on which the prescribed times for the Sacrifices of the Dead are recorded. They all belong to the Pharaonic ages, and have clearly no reference to the civil or movable year, but to the fixed year, which was kept in harmony with the course of the sun by the epoch of 4 years and other checks.[33] As early as the 4th Dynasty there are records of two different beginnings of the year having been universally celebrated, but

[33] P. 213.

they must refer to the vague and fixed year (p. 180.). The only one of these inscriptions we shall notice here is a very remarkable List of Sacrifices to the Dead, the text and translation of which are given by Lepsius, belonging to the 12th Dynasty and Old Empire[34], and one of the most complete. It is as follows:

"Sacrifices to the Dead at all the Festivals of the Lower World:

At the Festival of the New Year (1st of Thoth);

At the Beginning of the Solar Year (20th of July, rising of Sirius);

At the Festival of the Great Year (close of the epoch of 4 years, consequently on the intercalary day?, at all events every four years, according to the statement in Horapollo explained above);

At the Festival of the Little Year (1st of Thoth every new year? first new moon after the solstice);

At the Festival of the Close of the Year (last day of of the year of 365 days);

At the Festival of the Great Panegyry (the 30-year festival);

At the Festival of the Great Heat (the month Mechir, see above among the names of the months);

At the Festival of the Lesser Heat (the month Phamenoth, see above);

At the Festival of the 5 Epagomenæ of the year;

At the Sheteta Festival. [Mr. Birch reads SHAT.. SHA, and explains it as 'festival of cutting food or harvest.']

At the twelve Monthly and twelve Bi-monthly Festivals;

At all the Commencement Festivals of the Plain and Mountain (?). [Mr. Birch reads, 'On all the fes-

[34] Pp. 154. to 160.

tivals from the beginning on Earth till the ending in Hades:' i. e. 'from when the deceased lived on Earth, till when he was put into the Hill or Tomb.']"

Though there may be some obscure points in this very remarkable inscription, which is at all events 4000 years old, science is indebted to the researches of Lepsius for an interpretation of the most important, about which there can be no doubt. We have not only the epagomenæ, but, together with the vague year, the fixed year, and the notation of the year every four years. We have also the coincidence of the first new moon at the solstice, as being the commencement of the lunar year, with the commencement of the fixed solar year and the rising of the Nile.

It is clear, therefore, that they possessed all the requirements for making observations of the precession of the equinoxes. But Lepsius deals with the contradiction which Biot himself had not explained, namely, that (as above observed) the epochs of the Sothiac cycle do not agree with the equation of nearly 500 years: for the former epochs occur in 1322, 2782, 4242; the latter in 1780, 3285.[35] We must, therefore, assume that, at some time or other, there was an alteration made as to the beginning of the year. The epagomenæ must have been added on to the last month. If, then, the 1st of Pachon was once the beginning of the year, they must have been added on to the month Pharmuthi, the last of the Harvest Season; and on some suitable occasion, but in the primitive times, have come after the end of Mesori, or the Water Season. Now the civil and natural calen-

[35] Biot, whom I have followed above, assumes the dates 1780—3285. Lepsius (p. 212.) remarks that this causes an uncertainty of 4 years, as the solstice always fell 4 years in succession on the same civil day. He prefers the dates of 1777—3282, because the year 3282 is also a Sothiac epoch for the 1st of Pachon. In the tables I adopt the latter assumption.

dars coincided but *once*, namely, at the former epoch (from 3285 to 3282), when Sirius rose heliacally on the day of the solstice, *and, indeed, on the 1st of Pachon.* But after the lapse of 480 years, consequently in the year 2802, it was discovered that the solstice was already 4 days in advance of the rising of Sirius on the 1st of Thoth. It was not till the year 2787, when Sirius rose on the 5th of Thoth, that the solstice fell on the 1st. We can easily conceive, therefore, that an alteration would then be made. They displaced the epagomenæ, and celebrated the rising of Sirius 4 or 5 days earlier than usual, so that it fell exactly on the day of the solstice. By this means the Canicular period was altered 500 years, and the new epoch commenced in 1322 instead of 1822. On this occasion, the Phœnix period of 1500 years was also divided into three cycles of 500 years, corresponding to the division of the year into three Tetramenies.

Lepsius assumes (p. 215. seq.) that this change in the calendar coincides with the beginning of the 6th Dynasty of Manetho (Phiops-Apappus), and with the change of the seat of government, which was connected with it, to Thebes; whereas, according to him, the other first starting-point, the year 3782, fell in the 4th Dynasty.

Here we differ from him; but we shall reserve the discussion of these historical synchronisms for its proper place in the Second Section of this Part, to which we now proceed.

SECTION II.

APPLICATION OF THE ASTRONOMICAL SYNCHRONISMS TO EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

A.

THE RENEWAL OF THE SOTHIAC CYCLE UNDER MENEPHTHAH, THE SON OF THE GREAT RAMESSES, IN THE YEAR 1322.

We have already ascertained, from the unquestionable statement of Censorinus, that the Sothiac year of 1460 years was the 1461st, the great divine intercalary year, the sum total of the 1460 lost quarter days, the computation of which began in the year 1322. Ideler and Biot have shown that this starting-point may also be computed by knowing the day on which the 1st of Thoth fell in the year of the conquest of Alexandria by Augustus.

The point, therefore, is as completely proved astronomically as it is by the testimony of history.

We will here cite another very trustworthy authority, because his testimony carries us a step further, Theon, the Alexandrian mathematician and interpreter of the Almagest of Ptolemy, at the close of the 4th century.

Larcher has the great merit of having brought to light, in his treatise on Herodotus (ii. 553. 2nd ed.), from a MS. at Paris (Cod. Reg. 2390. fol. 154. 333.), the very remarkable passage in Theon's unpublished commentary on the Almagest.[36]

[36] It runs thus: "If we compute the years from Menophres to the end of the Augustan era, we get a sum total of 1605 years. If we add to these the 100 years which had elapsed since the beginning of the Diocletian era, we get 1705 years."

In order to understand it, we must first be aware that the era of Augustus in Egypt ended A.D. 283; and the Diocletian era begun on the 29th of August, 284.

Hence it is easy to determine the date before our era of the commencement of the period which was named after Menophres.

This period comprised, down to the close of the Augustan era - -	1605 years.
Of which there elapsed after the Christian era - - - - -	283
Leaving B.C. -	1322

The year 1322 B.C., consequently, was the date of the origin of that computation of time. It is easy to see that this is an era; but where is the King Menophres to be found? Nowhere. The time is gone by when it was admissible to get out of the difficulty by saying that Egyptian kings had several names. There never was, moreover, at any time, a king named Menophres.

But I have already, in the Third Book, claimed a discovery, which I made in 1833, that this so-called Menophres (ΜΕΝΟΦΡΗΣ) is only a slight misspelling of Menophthah (ΜΕΝΟΦΘΕΩΣ).

There was, consequently, a new Sothiac cycle in the time of Menophthah I., the son of the renowned Ramesses. As far as the notation of months was concerned, the epagomenæ might certainly very well have then been introduced, the existence of which is implied in the Sothiac cycle. Their introduction into Egypt must almost necessarily coincide with the discovery of the cycle of 1460 years, or must have taken place immediately after. For as a new course of celestial and terrestrial phenomena began with the year 1322, nothing could be easier than to add on the five days to the 12th month of the year 1323 (Mesôre), or to make this addition in the new year. But, according to the astronomical facts

established in the First Section, the Sothiac year could not have been discovered and adopted in 1322. This could only have been done in early times, the astronomical limits of which have been assigned above. Sirius then no longer rose at the time of the solstice, and so the natural starting-point of Egyptian observations and notations of years was lost.

The beginning of the previous Sothiac cycle would fall in the year 2782 B.C. This date is most remarkable. About the year 2800, Sirius still rose so nearly contemporaneously with the solstice and inundation (within two or three days), that in the observation of the heliacal rising of the star in Egypt, about which there was an uncertainty of from four to five days, as Ptolemy expressly states, these phenomena might be considered just as coincident as they were 500 years earlier.

If this be true, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Egyptians must have noted this starting-point. Having once done this, a knowledge of it could not well be lost. Thus, in the time of Diocletian the era was well known by the name of Menophthes, though few people then could have known anything about the king. Manetho, accordingly, must have found in the Chronicles the dynasty and king under whom the first Sirius cycle commenced. Even the priests whom Herodotus consulted were acquainted with the two cycles.

The question, however, is, whether we have evidence and indications of its being actually used, the Canicular cycle, at least, which commenced 1322 B.C., for fixing the dates of historical events. We will endeavour to find an answer to it, first in the Greek writers, and then in Manetho himself.

B.

THE APPEARANCES OF THE PHŒNIX FROM THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS UP TO RHAMPSINITUS.

Since the researches of Biot, Lepsius has examined more closely what information is to be obtained from the classics, and especially from a passage in Tacitus (Ann. vi. 28.), about the appearances of the Phœnix.[37] As the appearance of the bird Phœnix was a mere fable — in fact a symbol of the astronomical epoch of 500 years which was misunderstood, we can well conceive that announcements of the Phœnix in Egypt would be treated like those about the Unicorn in Chinese history. It would, indeed, have been strange, had not so manifest an indication of the continual protecting care of the Gods been intended to mark a great and happy epoch. It would have been incredible that periods of misery, injustice, and wickedness should have been hallowed by the miraculous phenomena of the seasons. This explains the reason of the Phœnix being frequently announced before its time, in order to stamp and immortalise some great historical phenomenon. Equally intelligible is it that the period should be passed over in silence, when the circumstances of the time were not very brilliant. In the reign of Sesostris it must naturally have appeared, although it was not the right time for its appearance. We may either suppose this Sesostris to mean Sethos (whom Tacitus knew by the name of Ramesses, or confounded with him), or the Sesortosis of the 12th Dynasty. When we consider that the Great Ramesses came so close to the beginning of the Sothiac cycle, that, in his time, they were certain to do every-

[37] Einl. p. 188. seq.

thing to connect him with that great leading epoch, we shall be obliged to decide in his favour. It was, however, unavoidable that the two epochs of 1461 and 1500 years should frequently be confounded in popular narratives.

The next appearance is said to have taken place in the reign of Amasis. This seems to be the most natural way of explaining it. As a half Phœnix period fell in the third year of the detested Cambyses (525), by throwing it back a very little, they made it come at the end of the reign of Amasis, and thus worked upon the national feeling of the Egyptians. For, as Herodotus remarks, in the reign of Amasis they were most prosperous; and hence also everything connected with him was of a joyous and agreeable character.

The third appearance mentioned is under Ptolemy, "the third of the Macedonians." If, as we may fairly conclude, this is a traditional Alexandrian account, it must mean Ptolemy Philadelphus, which is also the opinion of Lepsius. Tacitus himself, as we shall see, could not have so understood it, unless he made a blunder in the date in copying the passage. Not only does a Phœnix epoch fall in the reign of this king, but the great solstitial year 275 B.C. also, in which the 1st of Pachon coincided with the solstice.

Were it the object to make the next half Phœnix period memorable (a forced attempt, however), they clearly might have made a Phœnix appear in the year 25 B.C. But if the priests on the Nile sent a statement to Rome in the reign of Tiberius that the Phœnix had appeared in Egypt in the consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vitellius, they must have calculated that the gentlemen on the Tiber, who were never very deeply skilled in the unprofitable science of astronomy, would not test it by computation. Tacitus (who, however, never questioned in the slightest degree the fact of the appearance of the bird, but simply remarked: "Some

say it was not the right one") seems really to have been the first Roman who ever made such a calculation, and consequently a wrong one. He says: "There were not so many as 250 years between the reigns of that Ptolemy and Tiberius," instead of saying, there were 59 too many. It must not be supposed that the introduction of the fixed year by Augustus caused any confusion in the calculations of the priests. But in that restless state of excitement in which they were, before all hope of their liberty being restored had been abandoned, men speculated upon the death of his misanthropic stepson, and the Phœnix was either intended to signify that hope, or it might, on the other hand, furnish matter of flattery for the camarilla of the Tiber. The narrative of the elder Pliny (N. H. x. 2.) proves how much reliance might be placed on the superstition of the Romans after the death of Cicero and Cæsar. He records, upon the authority of a contemporary of the event whom he mentions by name, that the bird appeared in the consulship of Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papirius (A.D. 36), a year before the death of the suspicious tyrant, which at last took place. But the sequel is most entertaining. The Phœnix, in a bodily shape, was set up in the Comitium in the year of the city 800, and a public record made of it, though it was well known not to have been a real Phœnix. There was, however, a real one; to doubt it would have been an act of impiety on the part of any distinguished Roman under an emperor who had become devout: all that the sceptics asserted was that it was not the right Phœnix. It is clear that it had appeared a little before its time, in order that its stuffed carcass, which is mentioned in spite of the burning of Rome, might give *éclat* to the celebration of the 800th year of the city; and what could be more natural! The poet-laureate of the old Tiberius, who died, nevertheless, soon after, doubtless connected its appearance with the happiness of the world under that emperor; and a courtier or

right-minded Quirite, in the reign of Claudius, could not fail to introduce it into the Carmen Seculare. The Egyptian priests, who were doubtless handsomely paid, said to themselves: "Mundus vult decipi, decipiatur!" —an axiom, the corresponding text for which is pictorially as unmistakable in the satirical Procession in Lepsius' work, as it is in the pulpits of the fourteenth century, and the popular epos of Reineke Fuchs.

The next epoch before Amasis, 775 B.C., occurred in the disastrous period of the 23rd Dynasty, and we can well understand that nothing was said about it to Herodotus. The distress which prevailed at the beginning of the next half-period, the year 1025, when they were suffering from the Assyrian invasion, or the consequences of it, precluded them from giving it any prominent notice.

But I think there can be no doubt that Herodotus speaks of the year 1275, the then next preceding complete period, in which the solstice coincided with the beginning of the second Tetrameny (the 1st of Tobi.)

Rhampsinitus, the Miser, as the priests told him, went into the lower world and there played at dice with Demeter. He won something from the goddess, but also lost something to her. In token of her favour she presented him with a scarf worked in gold. Ever after his visit to and return from Hades, the Egyptians kept a festival in which a priest clad in a mantle embroidered on the same day, had his eyes bound, and being left alone in a field, two wolves came to fetch him and convey him two miles and a half to the temple of Demeter, and then back again to the place where they found him. The explanation of this festival we leave to the learned mythologists, who (as we learn from Bähr in treating of that passage, and from Schwenck) can tell us a great deal about the emblems of life and death, and about every kind of symbolical combination which it is possible to work up from mantles and scarfs, web and woof,

light and darkness. Unfortunately, they could see everything except the important point, namely, what the Egyptians really understood by it. By the two wolves they could understand nothing but jackals, forms of Anubis, and as such they signified the divisions of the upper and lower hemispheres. This, clearly enough, had reference to the connexion between the civil and natural years. Its mythical signification we leave to those who can read and interpret the Book of the Dead (for ourselves we are not sufficiently acquainted even with the connected grammatical sense), or to those who have the courage, without a knowledge of the state of facts, to penetrate and speculate upon the hidden mysteries of the world of thought and the history of long past ages. The journey of Rhampsinitus into Hades clearly alludes to the myth of Hermes-Thoth, so beautifully explained by Lepsius, who also played at dice with Demeter-Isis as Selene, and won from her the five days. The game of Rhampsinitus does not seem to have been quite so brilliant; neither could it be expected, when we consider the time in which he lived. The highest known regnal year of Ramesses III. is the sixteenth, according to our calculation, the year 1275. He was succeeded by his brother as Ramses IV., and perhaps in that very year. We do not know how long he reigned. We do know, however, that his younger brother and successor had all his scutcheons erased. We may, therefore, consider Ramses V. in the Pharaonic history, as the immediate successor of Ramesses III., who consequently reckoned his regnal years from the year 1275 or 1274. This Ramses V. we have shown in the proper place to be the Rhampsinitus of Herodotus.[38]

[38] Lepsius (Einl. p. 190.) considers him Ramses III.

C.

TRACES OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL USE OF THE CANICULAR CYCLE IN THE GREEK TRADITIONS ABOUT THE HISTORY OF THE EGYPTIANS.

I. THE DATE OF THE EXODUS AS LAID DOWN BY CLEMENS OF ALEXANDRIA ACCORDING TO THE SOTHIAC CYCLE OF 1322.

CLEMENS of Alexandria, as remarked in the First Book[39], fixes the date of the Exodus, among other circumstances, by this statement, that it occurred 345 years before the Sothiac cycle. Now, as this commenced in the year 1322 B.C., this means that some commentators made the date of the Exodus 1667 B.C. But, upon closer examination, this does not turn out to be a notice of its real date. Like all similar notices, it is tantamount to the one which states that the above year was the first regnal year of Amos, or the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. This, according to our tables, is forty-two years too high; for we make this dynasty and the reign of Amos to begin in the year 1625 — a much more suitable date than that of Champollion and his school, who consider the collective numbers of the Lists of the 18th and 19th Dynasties to be consecutive — which would bring us to the year 1822 B.C., and still not make Menephthah coincide with the epoch of 1322.[40]

But such a mode of computation proves that, even in the Alexandrian school, the beginning of the Sothiac period of 1322, i.e. the era of Menôphthes, was known and used as a fixed point for establishing chronological dates.

[39] Section III. p. 242.

[40] Conf. Lepsius, who makes 1667 the 4th year of Amos. Einl. pp. 168—171.

It may, however, be asked whether this system of calculating backwards does not also prove that the Egyptians were not acquainted with any earlier cycle, or at least did not reckon by any other. Clearly not so. It was more convenient to fix the interval from the proximate starting-point of the new cycle, and it placed a learned and conscientious father of the church, like Clemens of Alexandria, in less danger of being charged with heresy, if he did not calculate Egyptian chronology farther back than was absolutely necessary.

We are, moreover, now in a position to state upon astronomical grounds, the certainty of which is unimpeachable, that it is utterly impossible that the Sothiac period should have been first instituted in the year 1322. The indispensable requirements date back beyond the beginning of the next cycle of 2782. On the other hand, the mere existence of an earlier cycle by no means implies that it was necessarily used for chronological purposes. But are there no traces in existence of such a use being made of it?

II. Traces of the Use of the Two Sothiac Cycles for fixing chronologically the Length of the Empire of Menes in Herodotus.

The transmission, by Herodotus, of the singular tradition which has been so much canvassed, and which was communicated to him by the priests, in reference to the length of the period from Menes to Sethos, has been most satisfactorily explained as a perfectly intelligible, but figurative, astronomical date.

From our present point of view, however, there will be no difficulty in proving that this date is approximatively a very correct one in an historical sense. The preliminary question is this — Did the priests make the beginning of the empire of Menes correspond with the beginning of the first Sothiac cycle, or did they not intend to define the duration of the empire at all?

In the former case, the calculation would stand thus:

Two Sothiac cycles make 2922 civil years (2 × 1461), equivalent nearly to - -	2920 tropical years,
According to our tables, the 31-years' reign of Sethos occurred between 773 and 744. The beginning of it, of course, is meant, and therefore - -	773 years.
Consequently, the commencement of the Sothiac cycle took place B.C. - - - - -	3693
From the beginning of Sethos' reign to the fall of the empire, Ol. 110, 1 B.C. - - -	340
Which gives as the duration of the empire of Menes - -	4033 years.

We consider this number as a few centuries too high. But what is that compared with the vast discrepancies hitherto existing, owing to the perversions and blunders of Jews and Christians?

If the priests simply meant to say that two complete Sothiac cycles had run out between Menes and Sethos, exclusive of the odd years before and after, the only conclusion is that, at all events, neither of these periods made a complete Sothiac cycle. The duration of the empire from Menes to Sethos did not comprise 4 × 1461 = 5844 years.

Upon either assumption, however, the inquiry is forced upon us, why did the priests mention Zet instead of Amasis as the last king before the Persian invasion?

Any one who has followed our inquiry will at once have a ready answer to such a question. 775 was one of the great solstitial years; not indeed in the Sothiac cycle, but in the Phœnix period. The last tetrameny

of the cycle of 1500 years, which ended in the year 276, commenced with it. The beginning of the reign of Zet was the last fixed point, therefore, which the priests could notify to the inquiring Ionian. The Phœnix cycle which began in his reign was still running on when Herodotus was in Egypt, about 460 B.C.

Could this be accidental? Certainly not. It does not however follow that we must therefore push up our chronological tables two years or even more. But if there be an error in this period, it cannot be an error of more than a few years. Manetho, however, may perhaps furnish us with an authority hitherto unnoticed in support of the higher term, the beginning of the previous Sothiac cycle.

D.

THE TESTIMONY OF MANETHO'S HISTORICAL WORK IN FAVOUR OF THE APPLICATION OF THE SOTHIAC CYCLE TO HISTORY, AND OF THE CORRECTNESS OF OUR CHRONOLOGY.

I. Manetho divided his Historical Work according to the Two Sothiac Cycles, not mythically, however, but strictly chronologically.

It hardly requires to be specially mentioned, that a logical comparative criticism of the Monuments, Lists, and Historians has furnished us with evidence in favour of Manetho which has set at rest for ever all doubts as to the historical nature of the traditions which he has transmitted. Though not satisfied with his mode of procedure in the Old Empire, we at the same time came to two conclusions: first, that the original tradition from Menes downwards is not overlaid with cyclical, that is, fictitious, dates; and, secondly, that Manetho did not tamper with the original historical dates of reigns, to

favour some cyclical purpose or other. So far, indeed, we must maintain that Böckh[41], the venerated master of philological research, has altogether failed in proving that Manetho's Lists from Menes to Nectanebo bear the impress of cyclical numbers. Yet we think we are not wrong in supposing that had this sagacious critic, when prosecuting his inquiry, been aware of the real facts contained in the monuments, he would have abandoned such an idea.

But he has, on the other hand, the merit of having supplied us, not only with a great number of lucid remarks and useful investigations, but of having also caused more attention to be paid to the fact of the unquestionable connexion between Manetho's work and the Sothiac cycle than had hitherto been given to it. Lepsius has still further corroborated this fact by his own thorough criticism of the dynasties of the Gods. He, as well as myself, had pursued the same method of critical research as Böckh; but we had the advantage of possessing a knowledge of facts in Egyptian monumental archæology with which he was unacquainted.

We are now arrived at that stage of our inquiry whence we can survey the last results of our criticism, which has been carried out through all the three epochs of the Egyptian empire by the aid of the monuments, and are thus enabled to offer our readers a final judgment upon them.

We will start at once with a question which, oddly enough, none of our predecessors seems to have raised: What was the principle upon which Manetho divided his work into three books? Assuredly not for the sake of external symmetry: in that case it would have been divided into three decades. Neither can it have been

[41] Manetho and the Dog-Star Period. Berlin, 1845. Comp. also the laborious and sagacious researches of Plath: Quæstionum Ægypt. Specimen. Göttingen, 1829.

upon historical or patriotic grounds. The first book contains the first eleven dynasties. It might seem as though the object here was to give at least a brilliant opening to the second book, which embraces the disastrous Hyksos period. This was for a long time my own impression. But then how are we to explain the third book opening with the 20th Dynasty, which, with the exception of the earlier years, was inglorious throughout, and some time even tributary to the Assyrians?

Looking at the question from the present point of view of Egyptian research, the answer is not doubtful. We now know that the first Sothiac cycle ended in the middle of the 19th Dynasty, which was the close of his second volume. Can this be accidental? The opening of the history of the House of Ramesses was brilliant; the latter reigns clouded over, and some of them disgraceful. They would have been very far from forming a splendid conclusion.

Looking at his earlier dates, the idea will cross us, whether Manetho had not the same reason for making his first volume close with the 11th Dynasty. In other words, whether the end of the period preceding the first historical Sothiac cycle did not fall in the 11th Dynasty, and whether he did not break off there for the same reasons as induced him to conclude the second with the 19th. A complete critical examination of his dates has now been made; and, if the suggestion be correct, the proof can hardly be wanting, for his 11th Dynasty only lasted forty-three years.

Should the calculation, therefore, tally, there would be a fair probability that the answer to the question is found. Manetho, who computes the ante-historic period by Sothiac cycles, would then, on the one hand, have arranged the historical period dynastically, and in strict accordance with the facts and dates before him; while, on the other, he would have divided it in such a manner

as to make each of the first two volumes to close with that dynasty in which a Sothiac cycle ended. In other words, he took, as the basis of his arrangement, the synchronism of certain reigns with the starting-points of the two periods of 1460 years, which fell within the chronological period.

II. MANETHO PLACED THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY IN THE EPOCHAL YEAR 2782 B.C.

IT seems then that Manetho's reason for concluding his first volume with the 11th Dynasty was the same as for concluding the second with the 19th, namely, because a Sothiac period terminated during those two dynasties.

We have only now to show that this really was his calculation.

In the course of our criticism of his dates, after eliminating the blunders and palpable errors of copyists, we have carefully noted the real remaining discrepancies, as being, all of them, at least worthy, if not equally worthy, of notice.

It was only after the chronological inquiry was concluded that we reached the point where the true date (if such exists beneath these data) must so far at least be capable of verification as to exhibit Manetho's genuine computation beyond all doubt. The calculation at present stands thus:

A. The *Beginning* of the NEW EMPIRE, or the first year of Amos, according to the only dates which we can hold to be admissible, and as to which, down to 1322, the utmost error that can exist is only six years, coincides with . . . 1625 B.C.

B. For the *Length* of the HYKSOS PERIOD, i.e. the 15th and 16th Shepherd Dynasties, and the 17th Theban, as the only certain measure of time, we

come to the conclusion that there are only two possible dates; one, that of Africanus, 518; the other, that of Josephus, 511 years; which they adopted as Manetho's chronology of the 16th Dynasty.

The numbers then stand thus:

XV. Dyn.	acc. Jos.	260;	acc. Afric.	284;	corr. 260—260
XVI.	„	511;	„	518,	„ 511—518
XVII.					151—151
					Sum total, possible numbers 922—929

We remarked, in the course of the inquiry, that the notion of Josephus about the 511 years representing the whole period of the Hyksos race (Dyn. XV. and XVI.) is altogether unwarranted. Manetho's date, on which he relies, can only represent the length of the 16th Dynasty, to which Africanus assigns 518 years. But, as the sum total of thirty-two reigns of that dynasty, 511 turned out, from the evidences of a larger number of manuscripts, to be better authenticated than the 518 of Africanus. Our calculation, therefore, stands, in the first place, thus:

1625	—	1625
929	—	922
2554	—	2547

According to Manetho, therefore, the first year of the Hyksos period may be either the 2554th, or the 2547th year B.C.

C. The *Duration* of the Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty, in the Old Empire, down to its fall. All we know from Manetho is that the sixty kings of this family (whose names are not given) reigned 453 years — a number, which we naturally could not

consider as anything but the sum total of all the reigns in it. From the chronological list of Eratosthenes, however, we learn that his last three kings (XXXVI—XXXVIII.) belong to this dynasty, and that they reigned 87 years. Now as we came to the conclusion that the only tenable assumption is, that the Hyksos Kings in Memphis did not begin to be enumerated in the Lists till after the 63rd and last year of the 38th King of Eratosthenes, we have no hesitation in accepting this number as being the actual, or very nearly the actual, number which Manetho adopted in his lost Canon as the length of the 13th Dynasty in the Old Empire. This gives us for the beginning of it,

either $2547+87=2634$ B.C.
or, $2554+87=2641$

D. The conclusion we came to in regard to the TWELFTH DYNASTY was, that Manetho's sum total, 245 years, as it stands, agrees neither with the Papyrus nor with the Monuments; but that, like the other entries, it can be reduced to the chronological period of 147 years transmitted by Eratosthenes. We adopt the latter view most unqualifiedly; but must here carry on the two dates.

This gives us for the first year of the 12th Dynasty a series of four dates, according to the ascending line:

2634	2641	2634	2641
147	147	245	245
2781	2788	2879	2886

Consequently, for the *last year* of the ELEVENTH DYNASTY,

2782—2789—2880—2887:

and as the two accounts agree about the length

of this dynasty (43 years), the *first year*, if we add 42, would be.

2824—2831—2922—2929.

It appeared to us, at the same time, that, on internal grounds, the more probable of the two assumptions, in respect to the length of the 11th Dynasty, is the one which leads to the result previously anticipated: and again, of two possibilities, that one which should turn out to be preferable upon critical grounds.

This coincidence can hardly be accidental. If it be not so, however, the following results cannot be contravened:

First: That we have recovered Manetho's own calculation of the whole chronology of Egypt up to the year 2782; and, in fact, taking into account how well the other intervening points tally, that the utmost range of possible deviation is a very narrow one.

Secondly: That this computation supplies a very satisfactory explanation of the reasons for believing that there was a certain connexion between the plan of his work and the Sothiac cycle, and the nature of that connexion.

Thirdly: That this connexion is no proof of the mythical character of Egyptian traditions since the time of Menes, or of Manetho's mythical conception and treatment of it; but, on the contrary, a direct proof of the historical character of both.

Fourthly: That in recovering Manetho's own calculation we have undoubtedly recovered the true chronology of Egypt, and, in fact, beyond the point where the Canon of Eratosthenes commenced.

Fifthly: That the Annals most probably contained, side by side with the computation according to the era of Menophthes, another computation, by means of the last kings of the 11th Dynasty, whose names are not given by the epitomists of Manetho.

III. THE STATEMENT THAT MANETHO ASSIGNED 3555 YEARS AS THE LENGTH OF THE EMPIRE FROM MENES TO NECTANEBO IS PERFECTLY SUITABLE.

WE shall naturally be called upon in this place to offer some proof that we are justified in considering the tradition, that the chronology of the history of Egypt from Menes to Nectanebo was 3555 years, came from Manetho.

On this point, also, we are in a situation to offer very satisfactory evidence. If, as we have assumed, Manetho really set the duration of this period at 3555 years — and if, as we think we have shown, he computed

for the New Empire, Dynasties XVIII.—XXX.	1286
for the Hyksos Period, Dynasties XV. XVI. XVII.	922
in all	2208 years,
his chronology of the Old Empire must have been	1347 years:
the consequent discrepancy with the Canon of Eratosthenes, of	1076
is	271 years.

In the Introduction to the Third Book we arrived at the conclusion that the following dates come out as the result of the different views from which it is possible to start:

I. By adding up all the Dynasties from I. to XII. and adding to them the 87 years of the 13th Dynasty in the Canon of Eratosthenes, we obtain, under the two different views,

	Years.	Days.
Imperial Dynasties, higher scale	1481	+70
Collateral ,, (II. V. IX. X.)	1114	
Sum total,	2595	+70

Or,

Imperial Dynasties, higher scale,		1481
Collateral	„ lower „	1036
	Sum total,	2517 years.

Or,

Imperial Dynasties, lower scale,		1412
Collateral	„ „	1036
	Sum total,	2448 years.

Neither of these assumptions, therefore, tallies; which merely confirms the view maintained throughout—that to add them all together would, in the present state of the inquiry and in the teeth of the monuments, be utterly preposterous.

II. Assuming the 10th (the second Herakleopolitan) *not* to be contemporary, but the three others (II. V. IX.) to be so, we get the same numbers —185 years; consequently,

2410—2332—2263.

III. Or, if we omit both the Herakleopolitan Dynasties, a difference of 594; consequently,

2001—1923—1854.

IV. Or, if we simply add the 2nd, as being contemporaneous, to the sum total of the Imperial Dynasties, i.e. either 302 or 224 years, we obtain,

1783—1714—1705—1636 years.

V. Lastly, supposing the 5th only to be contemporaneous (218 years), the result is,

1699—1630.

According to our views, each of these assumptions is as inadmissible and uncritical as the other. The fact of the result not coinciding with the

former number, 1347, which is indispensable for our system, is merely, therefore, another confirmation of the correctness of our criticism.

VI. Counting only the Imperial Dynasties, i.e. only the Memphite and Theban after the first Thinite which reigned in Memphis (and Thebes), the choice will lie, as already stated, between

1481—1412.

We have shown, however, that, even supposing Manetho, in the 1st and 3rd Dynasties, to have counted the sum total of the years of reign, it was impossible in the 4th, in the teeth of other authorities and of the monuments: that in the 6th, on the contrary, it is more probable that he did adopt the sum total as his chronology: that in the 8th a different assumption is justified by the text: and that in the rest, the 11th, 12th, and 13th, there is no difficulty in adopting the sum total as the true chronology. The choice, then, lies simply between the two following series:—

Dynasty.		Lower Number.	Higher Number.
I.	- - -	188	253
III.	- - -	214	214
IV.	- - -	154	154
VI.	- - -	113	203
VII.	- - conjecture	20	text 75
VIII.	- - -	142	146
XI.	- - -	43	43
XII.	- - -	176	176
XIII.	(in the Old Empire)	87	87
	Sum total	1137	1351

The higher number, therefore, is perfectly suitable, if in the 8th Dynasty we give the preference to the far better authenticated number 142 over 146. It seems impossible that this coincidence should be accidental.

Manetho's computation, therefore, was as follows:

Old Empire,	length	1347 years,
Hyksos Period,	„	922
New Empire,	„	1286
Whole Period		3555

Of these three dates, those of the Hyksos Period and New Empire I believe to be perfectly historical. In regard to the historical chronology of the Old Empire, on the other hand, I must decide against Manetho, and in favour of the 1076 years of Eratosthenes, upon the general and special grounds which have been developed in the first two Books.

PART II.

THE HISTORICAL SYNCHRONISMS, EGYPTIAN BASIS:

OR

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE NEW EMPIRE FROM AMOS TO SHESHONK (XXVIII.—XXII. DYN.).

J. BONOMI. DEL.

AMENOPH III
MEMNON

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND THE HISTORICAL SECTIONS.

"STRANA veramente e singolare vicenda di queste cose terrene, che dopo tanti secoli di silenzio, viva ritorni nei fasti del mondo una storia di fatti, rappresentati e scritti per quelli stessi che li operarono! Ed è lode tutta propria degli uomini famosi dell' Egitto, che, quantunque vissuti in età sì remote, ci abbiano lasciato ed ancor sussistano tanti monumenti parlanti delle lor glorie; mentre in confronto sì pochi, sì rari ed incompleti se ne hanno di molti e molti altri assai meno antichi e pur famosissimi regnanti d' oriente e d' occidente, dei quali conosciamo le storie pel solo mezzo degli scrittori."—*Rosellini, Mon. Stor.* iii. p. 64.

"Il testo tanto soprabbonda dei soliti titoli pomposi ed enfatiche locuzioni di generale significamento, quanto poco c' istruisce di quelle particolarità che più si desiderano nei monumenti storici. E questo è sfortunatamente il carattere della maggior parte delle iscrizioni storiche egiziane, le quali se molto c' insegnano rispetto al poco che sapevasi delle antichissime storie d'Egitto, non c' istruiscono per altro in proporzione del loro numero e della loro estensione, per difetto appunto di particolarità e d'indicazioni positive confacenti al soggetto." —*Ibid.* iv. 83.

In the Old Empire, we have treated the historical monuments of each king in the same sections in which the restoration of the chronology is dealt with. Those monuments supplied the evidence of the historical cha-

racter of Egyptian tradition, which we undertook to adduce. The case is the same with the scanty contemporaneous remains which establish the existence of Theban Kings in the long and gloomy Hyksos period. It is far otherwise with the kings of the New Empire. No one can any longer doubt, without being chargeable with wilful and disgraceful ignorance, the historical character of the Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, of the Tuthmoses and Ramèssides. Here, however, there were great difficulties in restoring the chronology, and a thorough investigation of this point, from the earliest to the latest dynasty, demanded the undivided attention of the investigator, as well as the reader. It seemed, therefore, the most suitable course, not to interrupt the unity of the chronological inquiry by an historical disquisition. For, however dry to the generality of readers an exclusively chronological inquiry may be, it becomes simply confusing when mixed up with historical discussions. On the other hand, it becomes peculiarly attractive to reflecting readers, as an exercise of the reasoning faculties, when the fundamental method of restoring the chronology is thoroughly carried out and submitted to a connected test. Any one who shrinks from this may pass over entirely the chronological portion, and admit that the Pharaohs who are here mentioned really succeeded each other, and reigned as long as, upon the strength of that investigation, we assume they did. We trust that, before the close of the next ten years, research, upon the basis of our restoration, will be concluded.

In this manner, accordingly, the historical exposition of Egyptian development in the New Empire will require to be provided with a considerable stock of materials, in order to be able to claim the recognition of the strictly historical gain which Egyptological research supplies for the six centuries and a half from the restoration down to Sheshonk. We must, however, at the

outset, warn our readers against exaggerated expectations and false views in regard to this restoration.

In the first place, it must not be expected that we intend to attempt a restoration of the Egyptian history of those centuries of the New Empire. That history, indeed, is by no means lost, as has hitherto been supposed in respect to the period prior to the Psammetici. It speaks to us through imperishable monuments, which record not merely the acts and works of the kings, but furnish also honourable testimony to the remarkable progress made in the fine arts by the nation itself. These monuments are certainly not unfrequently witnesses to the triumphs, the conquests, and other exploits of the rulers. Contemporaneous Egyptian records of these even are not wanting, from which we can discover at least the names of the nations which, either as foes or allies, took part in the expeditions of these mighty conquerors. There must, however, be no misunderstanding as to the peculiar historical value of these records. They are mere fragments of a tradition, which, even if complete, would in itself offer nothing more attractive than the sickening reflection of the same internal divisions, wars, and engagements in Chinese history. The attractiveness and vitality of all national history depend upon the free scope given to individuals in the development of national life. The only independent individuality that could exist in Egypt was the king, and, now and then, some liberal-minded priest. In the time of the Tuthmoses, perhaps even in that of the Sesortoses, there was no longer a nation, nothing but torpid castes. Great occurrences in the country, and great events in the history of the Egyptians, as a portion of mankind, can only interest us, after the vast disturbance of history generally, upon two grounds; either from their intrinsic value as regards mankind, or from their contact with the Semitic races which affected the world at large. The Mosaic Exodus is one such

instance in this epoch; and the Assyrian conquest or supremacy in the succeeding one. We shall, therefore, incorporate into our inquiry such synchronisms as have an important bearing on general history.

We are neither able nor desirous of stating everything which might be said, on the ground of Egyptian research, about the history of the New Empire. We shall bring forward such important historical matter as the monuments of Egypt, conjointly with the biblical narratives, those of the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Greeks, furnish us in respect of the great events of the empire. The most important facts which these monuments contain regarding the history of the kings of the New Empire, in so far as they can now be made the subject of historical research, must therefore be specially noticed. The history of art and of industry, or conjectures about unknown and unidentifiable names of conquered races, are foreign to the object of this work, still more so of this particular Book.

Now, as regards the strictly historical character of these records, subject to this limitation, they possess a value at once so great and so slight as none others possess. Where else are to be found authentic contemporary monuments of considerable antiquity, erected by sovereigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C., the history of which it is our business to restore? Again, where is there an instance of so many and such magnificent monuments, which sometimes tell us little, frequently nothing at all? This is the reason why we have commenced this section with two passages from the writings of a noble Italian investigator, our never to be forgotten friend, Ippolito Rosellini, because they give so correct a description of the twofold character of Egyptian monuments. The former of the two sentences was dictated by the enthusiasm which inspires every man not altogether deadened or absorbed in the pitiful literature of the day, when pictorial repre-

sentations on monuments more than 3000 years old speak to him of great exploits and works, in a character which has ceased to be current for 2000 years. The latter was elicited by his feeling of truth, when he became convinced that the greatest historical inscription teaches us but little, and will, even when our philological knowledge is more advanced, teach us but little more. Both of them are true and apposite. Both of them even possess an importance to history generally. The Egyptians, as repeatedly remarked, are the monumental people of the earth, as it were, the accountants of mankind in time. They do nothing, they learn nothing, they neither come into the world, nor go out of it, without a notation of the year of the king's reign, and these private records, in spite of the effects of destruction by weather, by the hand of man, and natural decay, are more imperishable, and, from the number of them, more indelible, than the most important public monuments in other countries. The same holds true of their writing. Most things are repeated twice, both pictorially and by means of phonetic signs; many of the latter again are pictures, by the side of which Determinatives are placed to convey the meaning of the word beyond mistake. This in itself makes the written character prolix; the repetition of fixed phrases renders it still more so. Little is lost by occasional lacunæ. But comparatively little advance also is made by what is preserved. There are but few words in a line, and, what is still worse, little is said in a great many lines. Inscriptions on public buildings were not intended to convey any historical information. They consist of panegyrics on the king, and praises of the Gods, to each of whom all imaginable titles are given. Historical facts are thrown into the shade as something paltry, casual, and incidental, by the side of such general pompous phraseology as — Lords of the World, Conquerors of the North, Tamers of the South, Destroyers of all the Unclean and their Enemies.

18781

The case of the Papyri is certainly different. Written history, such as the historical books of the Old Testament, was, as far as our knowledge of their writings goes, as certainly unknown to the Old Egyptians, as it is certain that the world-renowned muse of Herodotus never inspired them. We have stated this clearly and deliberately at the very outset of the inquiry into the sources of Egyptian history. We have certainly still much to learn before we can interpret to our satisfaction the Papyri, indeed before we are in a position thoroughly to explain the monumental inscriptions, which are much easier to decipher on account of the recurrence of the same phrases. Lastly, there may be discovered in the tombs materials of which we have at present no idea, and of a still more valuable character. But we know already too much of those which are preserved, to venture to hope that we shall ever find anything different in kind; we should then recover Manetho's work which was so early mutilated and adulterated. For the more we examine, and the greater numbers of monuments we have access to, the more we learn to know and to venerate his greatness and worth. Concurrent with these stately monuments of the earliest times, there must have been chronicles of the priests, from which Manetho avowedly and ostensibly derived his information. It seems, however, equally certain that no one before him collected, sifted, and arranged the scattered materials, by collating monumental lore, the contents of chronicles, popular songs, and living legends. Had Josephus and the Christian Fathers possessed half as much affection for historical truth as they had zeal for defending their own traditions and doctrine, they would not have allowed Manetho to perish. Africanus probably, and Eusebius certainly, never saw the entire historical work; Josephus saw merely extracts, and those already tampered with and mutilated. The Roman writers, however, in Christian times, had still

less feeling for history generally, less sympathy for the antiquities of the barbarians; Varro even, the most learned among them, and Tacitus, the greatest genius, being no exceptions, any more than Pliny.

In an Egyptological treatise on the historical records of the New Empire, all monuments which give any sort of historical information must be quoted, and, as far as that is concerned, explained. Wilkinson originated this mode of dealing with them; Rosellini continued it more systematically and thoroughly. Lepsius' great work, however, is the first which gives the authorities, and is executed with thorough criticism and precision. His text (which is so anxiously expected) will fill up many lacunæ in the historical exposition the bases of which are here laid down, will correct many errors, and clear up many difficulties. It seems the more imperative upon us only to offer in this place sketches and fragments of the various features in Egyptian history, and to hint at the principal points for future research, in so far as we have gained an insight into them. We always refer, therefore, to the monuments themselves, according to Lepsius' plates; and on other points to Rosellini, whose labours have been our guide in this exposition (Monumenti Storici), no other work being accompanied by a classical text. Such of our readers as have access to it will not, probably, be less thankful to us for omitting everything that is uncertain, or which does not contribute any historical result, than they will be for what we have communicated, with additions by Birch, De Rougé, and others. The Egyptians possessed, therefore, a history; but it was not in their monuments. The historical matter we glean from them is not of more value than the meagre remains of historical tradition which the epitomists have rescued from Manetho. It corroborates them, however, and proves the traditions to be really historical. This is the main point for the student of history.

It must, therefore, be our first object, in this cursory

historical treatise, to introduce light and shade into the seemingly uniform and lifeless mass of events. Our primary aim will be, to obtain genuine historical sections, independent of changes of dynasty. The capability of distinguishing the flourishing periods of their history, the seasons of stagnation, and the decline of a dynasty and of the empire, and then of art, which is evinced by its monuments, supplies, to a certain extent, the lamentable want of individualities which we cannot conceal, and the meagreness and imperfection of the internal history of the people and state. Such sections and epochs are sometimes larger, comprising several dynasties; sometimes smaller subdivisions, which are easily surveyed. By this means, at all events, I think I shall have the effect of forcing my readers to the conclusion that the centuries prior to Psammetichus are not lost to history, even irrespective of the history of art.

We must not, at the same time, be blind to the fact that the element of progress was very scanty in Egypt, and that the nation had outlived itself; so that the New Empire was an abortive attempt at a real restoration of national life. Even an important power in the then circumstances of the world appears only by fits and starts, and the most brilliant conquests are frequently immediately succeeded by the lowest state of debasement. We feel that everything depends on the reigning individual: popular life is only exhibited in a state of suffering or in mockery, and simply as a negation.

In order fully to appreciate the higher import of the history of Egypt, we must first rise to the point of view of universal history. Here Egypt appears as the connecting link between Asia and Africa, and as the instrument of Providence for furthering its eternal purpose, as forming the background and contrast to that free spiritual and moral element which was to arise out of Israel and of Hellas and spread over the whole world.

II.

SURVEY OF THE REIGNS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.[42]

ACCORDING to the monuments, AMŌSIS (Aahmes), chief of the 18th Dynasty, left behind him one son and two daughters. The son succeeded as AMENŌPHIS (Amenhept) I. He had no children. After him, as *third* and *fourth* reigns, we find

In the Lists: (3.) AMESSIS (Aahmes), a daughter of Amōsis, and (4.) Mesphres or MEPHRES (Ma-ke-phra, or Mes.t.phra, daughter of Pharaoh?), her daughter.

On the Monuments: (3.) TUTHMŌSIS I., cousin and husband of the heiress Aahmes, and (4.) TUTHMŌSIS II., the son of him and Amessis.

According to the tables and monuments, however, these two series of reigns did not proceed harmoniously together; for the Lists of Kings of this time mention only the two *male* reigns, and the scutcheons of Amessis are found but seldom on the public monuments.

The *fifth* reign is called

In the Lists: Mesphratuthmōsis;

On the Monuments: Tuthmōsis III. (Ra-men-kheper), younger son of Tuthmōsis I., consequently, the brother of his predecessor, Tuthmōsis II.

The *sixth* reign (which is omitted in the Lists, owing to some confusion which has crept in) is that of AMENŌPHIS II., son of Tuthmōsis III.

He was succeeded by his son TUTHMŌSIS IV., and he again by his son AMENŌPHIS III., eighth king of the race. After his death, however, a schism took place; the

[42] Comp. Genealogy of the 18th Dynasty, Book III. p. 510. The restoration of it, pp. 526—536.

consequence of which is, that the reigns of his son Amenōphis IV. (Akhenaten), and of two successors, Ai and Amenankhut, are not recorded in the dynastic series. Amenōphis IV. took the name of Akhenaten after he became a heretic disk-worshipper. He had no male issue. This schism would seem to have ended with the latter reign, as this king's name contains that of the God Ammon.[43] He was succeeded by Horus, after whose death we find a queen (probably a sister) with her husband holding the reins of government, but we must suppose only in the name of her son.

This son, probably the grandson of Horus through his mother, was the founder of the 19th Dynasty, as the first Ramesses. Lepsius' Book of Kings, now published, shows how far the relationship between the house of the Ramessides and the Tuthmōses can be restored from the extant monuments, with reference to the Lists, which, though corrupted by the introduction and repetition of historical names which were misunderstood, are not falsified. In the mean time, the restoration of the two dynasties, proposed by us in 1834 and carried out in detail in 1845, as well as that of the 20th and 21st, is unimpeached. So, likewise, is the separation between the 18th and 19th. Down to Horus, it can be shown that there is no break in the male line: with him it clearly became extinct, he having no son. Here, therefore, and here only, can the 19th Dynasty commence. From the first Ramesses downwards we have again an unbroken succession in the male line as far as Sethos II. From the first Ramesses the sovereignty passed to his son, the Great Sethos (Seti) I., who, with his son and successor, the renowned Ramesses Miamun,

[43] This is the result of the researches of Lepsius, contained in his "Gods of the First Order," to the detailed account of which the reader is referred. The result, the first idea of which was suggested by Dr. Hincks, is generally admitted.

forms the bright point in this epoch. Under MENEPHTHAH, son of Ramesses the Great, the fourth king of the house, we find the power of Egypt suddenly broken; and with his son, SETHOS (Seti) II., the male line and dynasty became extinct, after Amenmesses had started up as rival sovereign.

III.

SURVEY OF THE HISTORICAL SECTIONS DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

THIS period of nearly three centuries and a half, which represents the first historical section of the New Empire, is again split up into five historical subdivisions or sections.

The *first* Section comprises in 86 years the first four reigns of the 18th, and the first five years of the following dynasty. It commences (or coincides in our view) with the reestablishment of the Pharaonic throne in Memphis by Amōsis, and goes on to the withdrawal of the Shepherds in the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Tuthmōsis III. It is the period during which the Theban rulers carried on the struggle for freedom, successfully indeed, but yet slowly, eventuating in the recovery of Lower Egypt.

The *second* Section comprises the zenith of the glory of the empire which had again become independent, — the period of conquests, and the recovery of the Peninsula of Sinai. The kings of this period are again four: Tuthmōsis III., Amenōphis II., Tuthmōsis IV., and lastly, Amenōphis III. — in all 114 years.

The *third* Section treats of the decline of the Tuthmōses, or the reign of Horus, who died without issue male.

The *fourth* Section contains the rise and culmina-

tion of the house of Ramesses, or the reign of the first king of that name, and the two conquerors and heroes of the family: Sethos I. and Ramesses II. — altogether 85 years.

Menephthah and his son Sethos II. form the *fifth* and last period. In their reigns, the dissolution of the empire was at hand, and the house of the Great Ramesses became extinct, at least in the male line. But these twenty-five years are of great importance to general history. In the first reign of twenty years the renewal of the Canicular cycle of 1460 years took place, and the Exodus of the Children of Israel under Moses.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

		Length of Reign.	Higher Monumental Year.	Generation.	Collateral Reigns.
I. Amōsis	Aahmes Ra-neb-peh	25	XXII.	First.	
II. Amenōphis son	Amenhept Ra-ser-ka	13	—	Second.	Amessis (AAHMES), daughter of Amos, wife of Tuthmōsis I.
III. Tuthmōsis I. cousin and brother-in-law	Tetmes Ra-aa-kheper-ka	21	—		
IV. Tuthmōsis II. son	Tetmes Ra-aa-en-kheper	22	XLII.	Third.	Mesphrès (Mephrès) daughter of Amessis, sister of Tuthmōsis II. and III.: RA-MA-KA, as queen, previously Hat-asu (Rosellini's King Amenemhe).
V. Tuthmōsis III. brother	Tetmes Ra-men-kheper	26 (48)			
VI. Amenōphis II. son	Amenhept Ra-aa-kheper.u	9	—	Fourth.	
VII. Tuthmōsis IV. son	Tetmes Ra-men-kheper.u	31	VII.	Fifth.	
VIII. Amenōphis III. son	Amenhept Ra-neb-ma.t	37	XXXVI.	Sixth.	Amenophis IV., son of Amenophis III., assumed after his heresy the name of Akhenaten, and reigned 12 years: he died without male issue, after adopting a step-son, Ra-saa-kheperu — Kanakht. He was succeeded by the heretic priest Ai, who reigned 9 years, and who was succeeded by Amen-ankhut, who reigned 12.
IX. Horus son	Her. Ra-usr-kheper.u	32	VII.	Seventh.	

Length of the Dynasty: 216 years.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY.

		Length of Reign.	Highest Monumental Year.	Generation.	Counter-Reigns.
I. Ramesses I.	Ramessu Ra-men-peh	9	II.	First.	
II. Sethos I. son	Seti Ra-men-Ma.t	12	I.	Second.	
III. Ramesses II. son	Ramessu Ra-usr-Ma.t	66	LXII.	Third.	Ramesses, a relation.
IV. Menôphthah son	Meri-en-pteh Ba-en-Ra	20	IV.	Fourth.	Ta-usr, daughter of the Great Ramses, and her husband, Si-ptah. Amenemses (Amen-messu).
V. Sethos II.	Seti Meri-en-pteh	5	—	Fifth?	

Length of the Dynasty: 112 years.

Whole length of the Epoch:

XVIII. Dynasty	216 years,	7 generations.	Average, $30\frac{6}{7}$ years.
XIX. „	112	5 (4)	„ $22\frac{2}{5}$ (28) years.
Altogether	328	12 (11)	

Average for a Generation, at the most 30 years, at the least $27\frac{1}{3}$ years.

SECTION I.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR OF LIBERATION; OR, FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF AMŌSIS TO THE FIFTH OF TUTHMŌSIS III. —86 YEARS.

A.

THE FIRST REIGN: AMŌSIS (AAHMeS RA-NeB-PeH).—25 YEARS. (Pl. VII. 1_1.)

(*Lepsius, Historical Monuments of the New Empire,* vol. v. Pl. 1, 2, 3.)

The most important point in the history of the first king of the New Empire is the authentic proof of his having occupied Memphis.

We have assumed this as being a necessary consequence from the fact of his appearing in the Lists as the first Imperial Sovereign, which, according to our fundamental assumption, implies the reconquest of Memphis. But we are in a position to prove it, in two ways, by contemporary records. The remarkable inscription published by the elder Champollion from the posthumous papers of his great brother, and since commented upon by De Rougé and by Birch in his Imperial Records of Tuthmōsis III.[44], proves that his reign commenced simultaneously with the recapture of Memphis. In a sepulchral inscription of the time, a captain of the Egyptian navy relates how he had served at Tanis (the Zoan of Scripture), under Amōsis. The struggle lasted till the fifth year of his reign. Then war broke out in the south, and

[44] Champollion Figeac, l'Égypte Ancienne, p. 300. Birch in Trans. R. Soc. of Lit. 1847, p. 323.

he was ordered to Kesh (Ethiopia), whither also the king afterwards repaired in order to collect the tribute.

In the first years of his reign, then, the struggle was going on about the Delta, with Memphis as a base. Amōsis, in his fifth year, was not master of the whole country, but was able to fall back upon Ethiopia.

A public inscription[45], communicated and explained by Rosellini, supplies the second proof that Amōsis was victorious, for he restored the shrines in the imperial city which had been captured. A stele, hewn out in the rock at the quarries of Mokattam, near Cairo, the lower part of which is unfortunately injured, states, as though expressly intended to prove the case for us—that in the *twenty-second* year of the reign of this king these quarries were opened, for the restoration "of the temples at Memphis and the temple of Ammon at Thebes." Over this inscription is the royal scutcheon of the king, and on each side of it that of his wife. She is the illustrious heiress with whom we became acquainted when making our researches about the 17th Dynasty—the Princess Aahmes Nefru-ari (the good, glorious woman). Her titles are: "Royal Wife, Mother, Daughter, Sister." She was, consequently, the daughter of a Theban king, and, in fact, the daughter of an Ethiopian house, or one allied with Ethiopian blood. The historical representations describe her as black, unlike all the other Egyptian races. It is easy to understand that in those days Theban families intermarried with Ethiopian princes; for it was from the South only that they received any support and reserves during the struggle with the Shepherd Kings. It is probable that the Ethiopian ancestress, on the mother's side, received some provinces as her dowry: at all events, a

[45] Monumenti Storici, i. 195. c. and Pl. xv. We shall in future distinguish this portion of Rosellini's work simply by the letters M. St.

portion of the country paid tribute to Amōsis. Nefru-ari, then, was an heiress: her husband reigned in her right, and took the name of "Young Moon," perhaps, in consequence of this inheritance; at any rate, it had reference to her, and was afterwards dropped. The monuments prove that no queen was ever held in such honour as this Aahmes. She is styled "Divine Spouse of Ammon;" she enjoys the distinction of the barque of the Gods; and sits beside her son, Amenōphis I., as if sharing equal rank with him, the reigning sovereign.[46]

In conclusion I will remark, that a passage which Lepsius has quoted from the Alexandrian Chronicle (Einl. p. 359. notes) would seem to furnish a remarkable confirmation of my explanation of the name CHEBRON in the Lists, as identical with Amōsis. In that chronicle, the sovereign under whom Moses was brought up is called KHENEBRON, the same name obviously as the KHENEPHRES of Artapanus. The name now stands thus: RA-NEB-PEH. The RA was often pronounced at the end of the name, and in a popular abridgment the following hieroglyphics might be dropped. Now the Egyptian *n* at the beginning of a word sounded often to the Greeks (as already observed in the First Book) like *gn*; thus NUB (name of a god, and signifying gold) led to Gnub, Chnub; and thus the hieroglyphical name might easily be altered into Chnebrôs, or Khenebron, or Khenephres. The historical import therefore is, that the youth of Moses (if not the Exodus) was by some writers connected with Amōsis.

[46] Rosellini confounds a wife of Amenōphis with this Aahmes.

B.

THE SECOND REIGN: AMENŌPHIS I. (AMENHePT RASeRKA) THE SON OF AAHMES AND NEFRU-ARI. — 13 YEARS.

(Pl. VII. 1_2.)

(*Lepsius, Historical Monuments*, vol. v. Pl. 4.)

This second king is likewise exhibited on the monuments of his posterity as enjoying especial honour; in a Theban tomb at Gurnah, for instance. The left of the two Colossi in front of the third Pylon of Karnak has his name inscribed on it.[47] His wife, Aah-Hept, is called "Royal daughter, wife, mother." As regards her children's honours, all we learn is that no descendant of hers came to the throne; for the succession passed to the younger son of Aahmes.

Amenōphis I. must have been successful in the struggle against the Shepherds. Unfortunately, the only representations alluding to these wars are on a few very small tablets in the Louvre, which Rosellini published and illustrated (iii. 10. seq.). One of the enemy here represented is bearded, and at all events is a northern Asiatic or African. The king is styled in one of them "the subduer of all hostile countries;" a general phrase which tells us absolutely nothing, and inspires no great confidence in the reality of his conquests.

[47] It is marked with (2) on the larger Plan of the Palace, although the figure is certainly not the work of Amenōphis, but either of Sethos I. who built this part of it, or of Tuthmōsis III. who dedicated the one on the right.

C.

THE THIRD REIGN: TUTHMŌSIS I. (TETMES RA-AA-KHEPER), BROTHER-IN-LAW OF AMENŌPHIS I.—21 YEARS.

(Pl. VII. 2_2.)

(*Lepsius, Historical Monuments*, vol. v. Pl. 12.)

IN this reign we have the germ of the art and splendour of the New Empire, the bloom of which only commenced in the succeeding one.

We find in the first place, as regent, Aahmes, "the royal wife, divine spouse, lady of both countries, the great royal sister." (Plate VII. 2_1.) She is the Amesses (Amens'ɔ) of the Lists, who was entirely ignored till the work of Lepsius appeared, as we have seen in the preceding part. It is uncertain in whose right she reigned — probably, however, as the daughter and heiress after her brother's death; for Tuthmōsis himself never appears as the son of Amōsis. He was, however, a younger brother, or the nearest kinsman. We have consequently, with the tablet of Abydos, enumerated him as the third ruler.

He is represented as having erected splendid and artistic edifices. He it was who first commenced the restoration and embellishment of the primeval temple-palace of the Sesortosidæ at Karnak, on the eastern side of Thebes. This building was the shrine of the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and remained to the latest period of the Pharaonic power the object of royal care, as now its very ruins have a world-wide reputation, and are unique of their kind. We have, therefore, appended not only a general plan of the Monuments of Thebes, and a special one of the Palace of Karnak; but also a ground plan, on a larger scale, of this historically most important monument of the New Empire, together

with the names of the most eminent royal founders in chronological order. The details of the plan, nevertheless, are not so correct as the woodcut copied from Lepsius' great work.

Tuthmōsis I. built a court of columns adorned with caryatides, immediately facing the shrine of Sesostris, which now forms the centre of the building (marked 3). He erected in front of it two obelisks of red granite, one of which is still standing; the inscription (in the middle row), according to which the shrine was dedicated to Father Ammon, makes especial mention of the *two* obelisks. On these the king is styled "Conqueror of the nine bows" (pet), according to the ordinary interpretation, Libya, the Coptic name of which is Niphayat, or Na-pa-ut, "the Nine Bows." Rosellini remarks that, as a work of art, the obelisk is very inferior to that of the succeeding (fourth) reign. A building in the valley of Assassif, behind the palace of Gurnah, partly built, partly hewn out of the rock, was commenced by him, and completed by his younger son in honour of his father, as the inscription states. For this reason Rosellini proposed to call it the Tuthmoseum.

D.

THE FOURTH REIGN: TUTHMŌSIS II. (TeTMeS RA-AA-eN-KHEPER), ELDER SON OF TUTHMŌSIS I. — 21 YEARS.

(Pl. VII. 3 r.)

(*Lepsius, Historical Monuments*, vol. v. Pl. 14—28.)

With this king, the grandson of the founder of the family, the reign of the third race of this royal house commenced. Preceding him we find a female regent, during his minority probably, of the name of Ma-ke-ra,

but which is spelled improperly in a variety of ways. Her family name, however, was pronounced NEM.T-AMEN or CHNUM.T-AMEN (like Chnuphis-Ammonia); before she became regent she was called HA.T-AS.U (Pl. VII. 2_8.). Her name as well as her brother's is on the obelisks of Karnak. As we shall presently see, a colossus in front of the third Pylon there was dedicated to Tuthmōsis II. by his younger brother and successor.[48] His wife's name was AMUN-MAI.T, "the beloved of Ammon." Rosellini corrected the mistake of Champollion, who took her scutcheon for that of a king. The former, indeed, sometimes has the title of AMUN-MAI, out of which Rosellini made a separate king, Tuthmōsis III., the father of the so-called Mœris.[49]

Between his reign and that of his younger brother the regency of the sister again intervened, the so-called Mesphra-Tuthmōsis, whose scutcheon, however, he carefully erased, and substituted his own name. She it was who commenced the erection of the two largest and most artistically finished obelisks in the court of her father, one of which is still standing (3), and the fragments of the other are scattered around it. There is on each side of them a single column of hieroglyphics, reaching all across the centre.[50] On the second side it is expressly stated that NEM.T-AMEN reigned *in the name of her father* (?), which we understand as meaning, not Ammon, but Tuthmōsis I. This may perhaps throw some light on the name Mesphra-Tuthmōsis. There is certainly no great difficulty about its derivation from Ma-ka-ra, which we have adopted in the previous section at the suggestion of Lepsius, if we suppose PH to be the article, prefixed to RA in pro-

[48] On the Plan of the Palace marked (4).

[49] Representation and description by Rosellini, M. St. xxxi.—xxxiv. Comp. Text, iii. A., 132. seq.

[50] i. 226. seq.; iii. 16. seq. Wilkinson took the right view of it.

nunciation (PHRA instead of RA), as was clearly the case in the name of King UAPHRES-APRIES-CHOPHRA. But MESPHRES, the form in which it is found in the best MS. of Pliny, cannot be thus explained. It may possibly be a popular distinctive name: MES.(T)PH.ARA (Tetmes), i.e. the daughter of the king (Tuthmōsis)?

We were obliged to content ourselves in the Third Book with proving that Mesphra or Mephra was only the name of a queen, the grand-daughter of Amōsis, whose reign corresponded with that of her brothers Tuthmōsis II. and III. Consequently Mesphra-Tuthmōsis, as the name of a single person, would be nonsense. It can only mean Tuthmōsis II. or III., as a contraction of two joint or corresponding reigns. We must decide, however, in favour of Tuthmōsis III., as it is preceded by the reign of Mesphres, who consequently stands in the place of the elder brother. In the Lists, Tuthmōsis IV. follows immediately after Mesphra-Tuthmōsis (the name and regnal years of the second Amenōphis being displaced). There is, however, authentic proof that the Alexandrians confounded Mesphres and Mesphra-Tuthmōsis, i. e. supposed the simple name of Mesphres to be the designation of the third Tuthmōsis himself, as sole ruler. Pliny mentions two obelisks of Mespheres (Mesphres) at Alexandria. These we can have no hesitation in identifying as the two lying in the port of that city at this moment, and universally known by the ridiculous name of Cleopatra's Needles. In the centre of each are the name and title of Tuthmōsis III., on the sides those of the Great Ramesses. The scutcheon of Seti II. was also introduced subsequently. The person from whom Pliny derived his information evidently belonged to that section of the Alexandrian school which studied Egyptology — another proof that they then distinguished the third from the other Tuthmōses by that name, which was doubtless a popular designation, and originally not an

unmeaning one. We must not on this account be led astray as to what the monuments authentically teach us. But it is explained why this name stands in our Lists opposite to the regnal date of Tuthmōsis III. We assume this at once as a settled point, and the fact of our being justified in so doing is one of vast importance for the restoration of the history of the period, to which we now proceed.

The passage in Josephus containing Manetho's tradition runs thus: "MESPHRA-TUTHMŌSIS drove the Hyksos as far as Avaris, and shut them up in it. His son, Tuthmōsis, obliged them to evacuate it." We shall see that Tuthmōsis III., the successor (although not the son, but brother) of Tuthmōsis II., made conquests in Mesopotamia. The fact of his undertaking such an expedition naturally implies that he did not leave a hostile fortified camp in his rear. Indeed the power and glory of Egypt in the time of the third Tuthmōsis prove that the Shepherds had been completely driven out; by which success the national spirit was raised to the highest pitch.

Here, then, Mesphra-Tuthmōsis is used instead of the simple name of Mesphres; and we must explain the above quotation in Josephus (which is evidently strung together out of epitomes, and not taken direct from the original text of the historical work) in this manner. Tuthmōsis II. (the brother and husband of MA-KA-RA) drove the Shepherds into Avaris, from which, being fortified, they were only expelled by his great brother and successor. His name really was Tuthmōsis, whereas, as we shall see, the successor of Tuthmōsis III. was called Amenōphis.

The important question, therefore, has to be answered here:

WHAT IS AVARIS?

We must not expect to explain the name of this city from the Egyptian, for Manetho says it was from the beginning Typhonian, i. e. Semitic — politically and re-

ligiously hostile. We shall show, in a subsequent portion of the inquiry, that Typhon was the primeval Semitic God, Seth, the creator of the human race. The supposition, therefore, that Avaris, or Abaris, signifies "City of the Hebrews," harmonizes the better with our researches. Indeed, in reading Josephus, the idea struck me before I saw it so explained, philologically and historically, in Ewald's excellent History of the Jewish People.[51] We must not, however, omit to mention that the *a*-sound in Abara (Avara) is fully established; and that it would seem to be of South-Semitic origin, and either derived from Arabia or the peninsula of Sinai.[52] It has since been read by De Rougé in the Sallier Papyrus, in the account of the declaration of war by Sakennen-Ra, the predecessor of Amōsis. He is there writing to Apepi, the Shepherd King, who lived at Avara, whom he summons to evacuate the country. I will take this opportunity of observing that, in the oldest and most trustworthy Arabian traditions, where mention is made of the rule of the Amalika (the Amalekites), Abara is especially said to be their stronghold.[53]

It is important to fix its geographical position accurately. We have, in the first place, to bear in mind Manetho's statement that it was in the Sethroite nome. Sethrōe (as Salmasius emended the received name Sethron), or Herakleopolis Parva, is unquestionably on the right bank of the Pelusiac or Bubastite arm of the Nile, and, consequently, outside of the Delta proper. This statement of Ptolemy is decisive as to the position of the nome. D'Anville erroneously placed the city, as well as nome, within the Delta, as Strabo did, consequently, on the left or western bank; owing to the

[51] Geschichte des Volks Israel, i. p. 450. seq.

[52] Steph. Byz. (from Uranios, *Arab.*): Ἄναθα καὶ Ἄναρα, City of Petræa. The name signifies "the white." [Mr. Birch explains it as an Egyptian word denoting the "area" or "floor," for it occurs in passages where it is not the name of a city. 1858.]

[53] Caussin de Parceval, Hist. of Arabians, Part I.

course of that arm being wrongly marked on the map. The French editors of the great work on Egypt, as well as Champollion[54], saw the mistake, and corrected it. Now as the Arabian nome is to the east of the Delta inland, and further southward (to the east of Bubastis) the nome of Phagroriopolis (Goshen), the Sethroite nome can only be the Eastern nome on the sea. Pelusium belongs to it. The nome extends as far as the River of Egypt, where Mount Casius and the Serbonitic Lake form the natural frontier of the country, as both the Bible and Herodotus mention. Either, therefore, old Avaris and Pelusium were one, or the Hyksos city must have stood on the site of Rhinokolura. But the two names are probably only different modes of expressing its Palestinian origin. Though Pelusium is afterwards understood as a Greek word (City of Mud), it may be the same name as that of the Palestinians, Peleshites, and Philistines; for which reason we prefer to consider it and Avaris, in point of position, as one and the same. But Manetho did not so understand it. He considered Avaris as a strong frontier city against the Syrians, a Typhonic city. Had he taken our view of it, he would naturally have mentioned Pelusium by way of explanation; but he considered it a city which fell after the evacuation of the Hyksos. At all events, it must have contained within the circuit of its walls ample means for feeding a large body of men, and, above all, a supply of drinking water. There is but one other place which could have fulfilled these conditions, namely, Rhinokolura, on the "river of Egypt," which flowed from the Idumæan mountains, and probably ran through Avaris, if this were the site of it. Otherwise, it would have been very easy for Mesphra-Tuthmōsis to force the 480,000 men to capitulate after he had once shut them up there; whereas, even his son was obliged to content himself with allowing the garrison

[54] Égypte sous les Pharaons, ii. p. 80. seq.

to retire unmolested with their goods and chattels, as we shall shortly see. Their retreat again could have been most easily effected if Avaris stood somewhere upon the site of El Arish, like the old Rhinokolura, for we have no hesitation in placing this city on the River of Egypt. Towards the close of the Old Empire it was, according to an ancient legend, the place of banishment for criminals whose sentence of death was commuted. This offers, therefore, an explanation of Manetho's statement that the Shepherds "met with" that city in the Sethroite nome.

Under these circumstances we shall leave the question open till we have made further researches. We will, however, remind our readers of what we said in 1845, that Sethrōs seems to be "the Seth of the outlet" (SeT-RU), an explanation concurred in by Lepsius in his "Einleitung." The point is an important one historically.

[Mr. Birch thinks that the name means Nome of Set-Ra. As he has shown in the "Museum of Classical Antiquities," vol. ii. p. 237., it is stated on the Barberini obelisk that Antinoopolis is placed in the nome of Set and Ra, which, at all events, means the Sethroites nomos. The critical question therefore is now, what authority can be attributed to so recent a monument? The decisive proof can only be found in the ancient hieroglyphical mode of writing the name of the nome. Set-Ra would, in itself, be easily explained, for Set may as well be coupled with Ra as Osiris is. It seems also right to add that Avaris may have been near the old Tanis, the Zoan of the prophets, a very ancient Pharaonic establishment. There must have existed, however, a Zoan of Semitic origin, the date of the building of which is incidentally mentioned in Num. xiii. 23. as being seven years after that of Hebron, a very ancient town, already flourishing in the time of Abraham. 1858.]

SECTION II.

THE STATE OF PROSPERITY AFTER THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, FROM THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE SHEPHERDS OUT OF AVARIS, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF TUTHMŌSIS III., DOWN TO THE DEATH OF AMENŌPHIS III.—114 YEARS.

A.

THE FIFTH REIGN: TUTHMŌSIS III. (TeTMeS RA-MeN-KHEPER), YOUNGER SON OF TUTHMŌSIS I., BROTHER OF TUTHMŌSIS II., AND BROTHER AND BROTHER-IN-LAW OF HA.T-AS.U (MA-KA-RA).—26 (48) YEARS.

(Monument XLII.)

(*Lepsius, Historical Monuments*, vol. v. Pl. 29—60.)

I. MISPHRA-TUTHMŌSIS IS A DESIGNATION IN THE LISTS SIGNIFYING THAT MISPHRA, THE ELDEST OF THE CHILDREN OF TUTHMŌSIS I., REIGNED A CONSIDERABLE TIME CONJOINTLY WITH TUTHMŌSIS III., HER YOUNGER BROTHER.

MISPHRA, i.e. the eldest daughter of the first Tuthmōsis and the royal heiress Aahmes (Amessis), was, as we have seen, regent in the fourth reign, which is recorded in the Royal Lists of the time as that of her brother and husband Tuthmōsis II. But we find in the inscription at Wadi Magara (in the Peninsula of Sinai[55]), down to the 16th year of the following fifth reign (marked in the Lists of Kings as that of the third Tuthmōsis), her royal escutcheon united with that of the latter king, the younger of the two brothers, and in fact taking precedence of him. Birch has very shrewdly remarked that this guardianship, or rather forcible co-regency, of

[55] Laborde, pl. viii. Birch, p. 320.

the elder sister and sister-in-law, must have ceased between the 17th and 26th years, inasmuch as Tuthmōsis is represented on a monument of this 26th year as the *sole* sovereign. The fact of his afterwards causing all her scutcheons to be erased and his own name to be substituted, as far as he could, proves this connexion to have been anything but a friendly one.

The name on the Lists, Misphra-Tuthmōsis, is thus satisfactorily explained. It was doubtless used originally to indicate that it was a joint reign of Misphra *and* Tuthmōsis II., the brother and sister, husband and wife. We have already seen how the date and name became displaced in the Lists. It is also generally admitted that the reign of Misphra, as concurrent with those of her brothers, ought not to be counted separately. But we ask further, if the elder brother and sister reigned co-ordinately, with what justice could the younger brother, who survived them both, be prevented from counting his regnal years from the death of his father? How indeed could it have been otherwise, if he caused his own scutcheons to be engraved on the monuments erected by her, and containing a statement of her own regnal year, without making any change in the dates?

This point requires closer investigation. For it is equally true, on the other hand, that Tuthmōsis II. must have his own regnal years, even according to the succession of kings on the monuments, and that his brother, who dedicated a sitting statue to him, could have had no intention of setting him aside as a sovereign.

In order to get over these difficulties we must see first of all how long, according to the monuments, the reign of Tuthmōsis III. lasted.

II. THE REIGNS OF THE TWO SONS OF TUTHMŌSIS I. (TUTHMŌSIS II. AND III.) LASTED FORTY-EIGHT YEARS. TUTHMŌSIS III. COUNTED HIS OWN REGNAL YEARS FROM THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER, AS HE WAS ENTITLED TO DO FROM THE BEGINNING.

IN the present Lists 26 years are placed against the reign of Misphra-Tuthmōsis. The first proof that this is inaccurate, as applied to Tuthmōsis III., consists in the fact of our possessing monuments of his 35th year. But there are two monuments, notice of which we have reserved for this discussion, that record in a way not to be misunderstood a length of reign in excess of this.

The one is the inscription on the back of the colossal sitting statue of Tuthmōsis II.; for so the king to whom his younger brother dedicated a statue, on the third propylon of the southern portion of the royal palace of Karnak, is called in the inscription on the belt beyond all doubt.

It is unfortunately mutilated, and therefore obscure. It consists of three horizontal columns. The *first* begins with the scutcheon and title of Thothmes III., and the part that is missing can only have contained some cursory remark (such as the notice of the Panegyries) running on into the *second* column, which begins with a mention of the southern district of Thebes, in which he erected the statue "in the 42nd year, on the 22nd day of the month Thoth."

The lower part of this column, however, is not quite legible, and still less intelligible. After some undecipherable characters, it says: "in the name" (or "to the name") "of the Father." The *third* and last column begins with the scutcheon, not of Thothmes I.[56], but of Thothmes II., the brother of the king who dedicated it. If we have no right, therefore, to connect the last

[56] M. St. iii. A, 125. seq. Comp. Birch, who by mistake explains the scutcheon as that of Thothmes I.

words of the second column directly with the preceding, still less are we authorised to connect the name of the *brother* with the apparent mention of the father, in the sense as though Thothmes II. were father of Thothmes III., and not Thothmes I., who was the father of the two brothers.

Fortunately the difficulties are not so insuperable in the most important point of the inscription, the date. It is clear that there could not be any chronological statement intended here, or it would have been 42 years so many months and so many days after the father's death. We can only, therefore, view it in the same light as all similar dates, as the date of the regnal years of Tuthmōsis III., with a statement of the month and day on which he completed the dedication. If, as Birch and Rosellini are of opinion, the 42 years are to be reckoned from the death of the first Tuthmōsis, this simply implies what we from the outset considered as the most natural solution:

> That Tuthmōsis III. reckoned his regnal years from the death of his father, although he was then a minor, no mention being made of him on the early monuments of Tuthmōsis II. and Misphra.

This however, again, must be tantamount to saying:

> That here is an instance of two brothers having an equal right to the crown, (doubtless by the will of their father,) and at the same time of a hereditary right on the part of a daughter, (though it may be a contested one,) as the eldest child, both of which circumstances were sources of dreadful confusion, even in the Old Empire.

Fortunately, however, this can be proved by showing that if our explanation be rejected an absurdity follows.

We will first of all, therefore, complete the proof that Tuthmōsis III. claimed, at the very least, 42 regnal years.

The above interpretation of the inscription is corroborated by the imperial record of Tuthmōsis III. which Birch has explained. It places the fifth campaign of this warlike monarch, with which it commences, in the 29th year of his reign, the sixth in the 30th, the tenth in the 35th. The year of the last campaign here mentioned, the 16th, is wanting in the mutilated monument. But it is clear from the above, that it could not be earlier than the 40th. Whether the 42nd above-mentioned was the last we do not know. As the number 26 stands on the Lists opposite to the reign of Misphra-Tuthmōsis (i.e. originally Misphra *and* Tuthmōsis III.), and is corroborated by the more accurate extract of "25 years and 10 months" in Josephus, it might seem more probable that this is merely a clerical error for 46 (μς instead of κς), though it must be recollected that all the epitomists give the same date, and so reckon it in their sum total. But it may also be, that 22, 13, 26, for all these three dates are mentioned as belonging to this period, represent three different epochs, while the monuments give the sum total. The elder brother obviously must have had his own term, and Manetho might deduct this from the whole sum total of the reign of the brother, which must have been at least 42 years, but in all probability 48, the sum of 22 and 26. The middle number (13) represents consequently the length of the second epoch, that is, the joint reign of Misphra with the elder or younger brother. How long she reigned with the elder we certainly do not know, but in the "16th year" the scutcheon of the younger brother is placed by the side of hers. This implies that the elder died at latest in the 15th year of this period (calculated after the death of Tuthmōsis), consequently 17 is a very probable number for the real length of the first joint reign.

It is easy to prove that our second assumption, which is at once the easiest and most natural, is also the cor-

rect one. We will in the first instance pass in review the series of reigns of the 18th Dynasty, according to the order of the generations.

If we assume 42 or 48 years to be the chronological years of Tuthmōsis' reign, the following will be the series of his and his brother's reigns (the third generation after Amos):

Thothmes II. (Ra-aa-en-kheper)	-	22 years.
„ III. (Ra-men-kheper)	-	46 (at least 42)
		68 (at least 64).

There were, again, in the preceding second generation, two reigns:

Amenōphis I.	-	13 years,
Tuthmōsis I. and Amessis (Ra-aa-kheper-ka and Ma-ka-ra.)	-	21
		34 years,

consequently, two generations and 102 regnal years; and that after Amōsis, to whom 25 years are assigned in the Lists, whose 22nd regnal year is authentically known, who appears as a warrior on his accession, and who therefore cannot have been a child. Is this probable, or even possible? The answer to it is furnished by a monument which Birch has already cited with a doubt as to the chronology of the Lists (according to their ordinary interpretation).[57] The hero of the sepulchral inscription relates that he served as a captain under Aahmes, consequently *at least* one year. It is probable, however, that the latter years of this monarch were peaceable, as he commenced in his 22nd year the magnificent edifices of the Restoration at Memphis and Thebes. Assuming, therefore, his

[57] The Statistical Tablet of Karnak.

twenty-first year to be the last year of war, we must assign to our hero, Amos, of war at least - 5 years.

But he goes on to state that he served under Amenōphis against the Ethiopians in the south, and against the Amukehak, or Kehak, in the north.

The reign of Amenōphis - - - 13

He accompanied Thothmes I. in his campaigns to Ethiopia and Mesopotamia (Naharaina) - - - - - 21

Under Tuthmōsis II. he fought against the Shasu, i.e. the Shepherds - - - 22

Whether he still served in a military capacity under Thothmes III. is not stated indeed, but that he enjoyed the favour of the sovereign as a public servant is especially mentioned. We must assign to this war therefore at the very least - - - - - 1

Whole period of service, at least - 62 years.

This in itself not only exceeds the bounds of historical probability, but even of possibility, because it implies that this functionary was capable of active service till his eighty-sixth year at least; so much so indeed that (with the exception of his sixty-second year of service) he took part in the campaigns to the very end.

We at once, therefore, come to the conclusion, either that the 22 years of the second Tuthmōsis must be excluded from the computation altogether, or that these, as well as the 26 years which are assigned to the younger brother, must be the sum total of the reigns of the brothers, consequently 48 years. This number is an extremely probable one, inasmuch as we find the 42nd regnal year of Tuthmōsis mentioned on the monuments.

The history of the campaigns of Tuthmōsis III., how-

ever, offers direct proof that this assumption is the only possible one.

III. The History of the Campaigns of Tuthmōsis III., from his own account of them.

In that magnificent edifice, the Royal Palace of Karnak, at Thebes, Tuthmōsis III. has recorded the history of his campaigns, probably on two different fields. The one commencing with his fifth campaign was sent by Champollion to Paris, but left unnoticed, like many of the most remarkable Egyptian monuments, in the vaults of the Louvre, where it was carefully copied by Lepsius, and published in his "Auswahl." An earlier copy made by Wilkinson, before its removal from Egypt, shows that this is another instance of the damage caused by the removal of the monuments. Thanks to Birch's critical translation and explanation of the inscriptions, we can now understand what is historically the most remarkable record of the New Empire.[58] He has the merit of having brought it under our notice, and of having laid the foundation of a perfect explanation of it. We will first consider it as to its bearing upon the chronological question under discussion.

We have seen that the fifth campaign of this king took place in the 29th year of his reign. From thenceforth there was a fresh campaign every year, twelve in twelve years. According to this, and indeed from the nature of the case, the first cannot have taken place later than his 24th year, nor more than about one year earlier. There remain therefore 22 or 23 years of apparently total inactivity. Now, as this is in itself highly improbable in the case of so energetic a sovereign, and impossible on account of the exploits

[58] See Birch, Observations on the Statistical Tablet of Karnak, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature; 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 317. seq.

already spoken of, it can scarcely be accidental that this computation, which is taken exclusively from the monuments, brings us to the same conclusion as the Lists, namely, that the 22 years are merely the date of the reign of Mesphra and Tuthmōsis II.[59]

[59] The chronology of the Tuthmōses, after the death of the second king of that name, is as follows:

CHRONOLOGY.

15	1—15 (at latest), joint reign: Hat-asu, as eldest child, reigns under the name of RA-MA-KA, with Tetmes RA-AA-eN-KHEPER, the elder of her two brothers (Tuthmōsis II.).
7	16 (or earlier)—22: Ra-ma-ka and Tetmes RA-MeN-KHEPER (Tuthmōsis III.).
26	23—48 (mentioned on the monuments down to the 42nd): TETMES RA-MEN-KHEPER alone.
48	

DYNASTIC COMPUTATION.

Mesphra (and) Tuthmōsis [II.] - - -	22 years.
Tuthmōsis [III.] alone - - - - -	26
	48 years.

In assuming this point as established, I see in it authentic proof of the correctness of the method I have hitherto pursued, and especially in the 12th Dynasty.

All the Lists, from the Turin Papyrus down to Manetho, and the monuments themselves have followed the system not unaptly termed by us the Egyptian, in computing the length of reigns. The Lists originally gave all the reigns in a dynasty, as well as their dates, and perhaps even, by way of preserving the details, their sums total. The monuments contain the regnal year of a king, on buildings of his own construction, sometimes of a higher number than the Lists, and which cannot be admitted into a chronological table coordinately with the dates of the Lists.

Now the question to be solved was this: Whether Manetho himself made the deductions which were required by this state of things? No one can entertain less doubt than I do upon this point. But it does not necessarily follow that our present Lists contain these corrections of the historian; neither does it follow that his method of analyzing the Lists of the Old Empire was sufficiently critical. The confused

We now proceed to analyze the historical value of these remarkable documents.

The fifth campaign commences with conquests in the North of Egypt. It is clear, therefore, not only that the Shepherds had then evacuated the country, but that they were broken up as a nation, or at all events had abandoned Palestine. This exodus accordingly must have taken place at the beginning of his reign.

Most of the twelve successive campaigns here enumerated, with the lists of the treasure, cattle, and other booty captured, took place in the north. Birch and others before him have offered conjectures about particular details, into which I do not feel myself called upon to enter. Thus much is clear, that the northern campaigns and conquests extended as far as Mesopotamia, which is unquestionably designated by its Semitic name, Naharaina, "the land of the two rivers." Of the other names there is no difficulty in identifying, as Hincks has done, Karkhemish (Circesium) as Karakamash. Sinkara is clearly Singara, on the Upper Tigris; and Ninia, therefore, the ancient metropolis of the Assyrian empire, must be Ninya, Nineveh; and so likewise Beber (Bebel) is the Babel of Scripture, or Babiru of the cuneiform characters.

It is hardly possible to conceive that such extensive campaigns were made, even if they were merely temporary invasions, without a considerable number of vessels of war, and the possession of harbours in the Mediterranean. We find, however, no notice of Phœnicia, nor is there any certain trace of Tyre and Sidon. The prin-

state of the older annals, such of them at least as existed during the New Empire, shows that no better plan could be pursued than the one first adopted by Eratosthenes. It was simply this—that of using the continuous series of reigns which were in the archives of Thebes, as guides for computing the length of the Old Empire and the Middle Period.

cipal struggles seem to have been with the RETENNU and KHITA and their allies. Champollion and Rosellini supposed the RUTEN to be Lydians; but it is clear that they are to be looked for either in Palestine or Syria, or on the northern coast of Africa. In a sepulchral inscription at Thebes (Birch, p. 332.) belonging to this period, they are called "northern lands behind the great sea." They must, I think, therefore, be the Ludim, or sons of Mizraim, of Scripture, who appear in the genealogical table, and are mentioned by the Prophets in connexion with Phut and Kush (Libya and Ethiopia). In all probability the Ludim belong to the tribes of Mesopotamia.[60]

The KHITA I have always considered to be the aborigines of Canaan, the Chethites or Hittites of Scripture. The Shasu, or Shepherds, are mentioned among their allies, and the chief of Karukamasha, i.e. Karkhemish, Circesium on the Chaboras.

Greek writers cite the stelæ erected by Sesostris in proof of his occupation of the conquered country, and the monument at Beyroot is evidence that by these are intended bassi rilievi deeply graven in the rock. Such tablets were erected by Tuthmōsis in Mesopotamia, as he himself records.[61] There is an inscription (illustrated by Birch, p. 346.) in the quarries at Turah, in which a person in the service of the son of Tuthmōsis III. mentions that he erected tablets for the king at Naharaina and to the southward in KARU. The latter is not mentioned in the list of the Ethiopian tribes, but it could hardly be to the south of Adulis or Axum.

[60] Mr. Osburn proposes to identify the Rutenu, a tribe so frequently mentioned (the Ludim of Mauritania), with the Arvadim of Scripture, and their chief city Arad with Aradus. His supposition that the Shairetana are the Sidonians is still more improbable. See W. Osburn, Ancient Egypt, her Testimony to the Truth of Scripture, (London, 1846) p. 52. seq.

[61] Birch, p. 345.

This southern boundary, therefore, was doubtless conquered by Tuthmosis III.

IV. Works erected by Tuthmōsis III.

This king, the Mœris of Champollion and his school, is one of the most glorious of the dynasty, even as regards the works of art which bear his name. The figure No. 5. on our plate indicates the portion of the temple-palace erected by him; besides which he erected a palace at Medinet-Aboo, a portion of the edifice at Assassif, and a temple in Amada (Nubia). There is a beautiful statue representing him at Turin.

Rosellini remarks that there is hardly an ancient city in Egypt and Nubia, as far as the Second Cataract beyond Semneh, where remains of his edifices are not found. He completed his father's and elder brother's works at Assassif, and his brother's at Karnak. He dedicated to the latter the third propylon on the southern flank of the palace, the colossal sitting statue, the important and obscure inscription on which we have attempted to decipher above.

The principal portion, however, of that giant work erected by Tuthmosis III. was round the shrine of his great ancestor Sesortosis. The granite naos restored by Philip Aridæus, probably after its destruction by the Persians, and the whole portion behind it, bear his name; so that, upon the whole, about a third of the palace owes its origin to him. There is a long inscription from the left wall of the enclosure of this granite shrine (the so-called great statistical inscription explained above[62]), containing a list of the costly objects dedicated by this king to Amun-Ra. Among these, two obelisks and the purport of the inscriptions upon them are mentioned; from which it appears that the one now in front of the Lateran was

[62] See Lepsius. Comp. Birch, loc. cit.

the largest of all the obelisks, and that it stood there. They were both erected in front of the propylæa of the naos, between the court of Thothmes I. (3) and the granite shrine. The centre row of hieroglyphics on the former only has reference to this king. The latter has disappeared totally; the inscription, a learned explanation of which was published by Father Ungarelli, unfortunately hardly contains any historical matter.

B.

THE SIXTH REIGN: AMENŌPHIS II. (AMENHEPT RA-NETERU), SON OF TUTHMŌSIS III.—9 YEARS. (THIRD REGNAL YEAR.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. v. Pl. 61—67.)

IT appears from the testimony of the monuments that Amenōphis II. continued the buildings in Amada (Nubia) commenced by his father. The walls of this gorgeous edifice, which are still standing, are covered with his sculptures. Here is recorded the third year of his reign. The inscription mentions the subjection of the country and of the princes of the Retennu or Lutennu, identified by us among the conquests of Tuthmōsis III. as the Ludim or Mauritanians.

We have also notified above, that Mesopotamia was, in the reign of this son of Tuthmōsis III., the northern frontier of the empire, Karu the southern.

The greater part of the representations are simply of a religious character, and have reference to sacrifices, dedications, and other offerings. The dilapidated remains of the edifice erected by him at Karnak are in the main of the same character. But in one of these representations, where Amun-Ra is addressing the king, *mention is made of a Shepherd Race*, probably referring to the

Bedouins of Libya. The God is promising the king "that he shall restrain them within their own territories." Rosellini read the name MENNAHŌM.[63] Champollion, however, was unquestionably right in thinking that the first two signs contain the root *mena*, to pasture, shepherds. He read it, KAH N NEMONE; "land of the shepherds," but this is incorrect, both hieroglyphically and grammatically. Birch's reading, on the other hand, "MENA TAI PET," i. e. "Shepherds, they of the nine bows," is a happy one in all respects. The last sign of the name occurs as equivalent to Pet, i. e. Phut.

C.

THE SEVENTH REIGN: TUTHMŌSIS IV. (TETMES RA-MEN-KHEPERU), SON OF AMENŌPHIS II.—13 YEARS. (SEVENTH MONUMENTAL YEAR.)

(Plate VII. 4.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. v. Pl. 68—70.)

THE ruins between the entrance hall and the court of Tuthmōsis I. contain some constructions of this king's. He erected the hall supported by columns in the temple of Amada, which was built by his father and grandfather. An inscription there states that the king[64] completely subjugated the foreign land of Kesh (Kush, Ethiopia)[65], as well as many others. These Kushites were also certainly represented in the drawing on a tomb at Gurnah, where there are nine prisoners in fetters on the steps of the throne.

The drawing, however, is very much damaged, and Rosellini could only read four names.[66] In the last of

[63] M. St. iii. A. 201. Comp. 211.

[64] M. St. iii. 205. seq.

[65] Book III. p. 283.

[66] M. St. iii. p. 209. seq.

them alone could he recognise a race with which he was acquainted, namely, "the Shepherds of Libya," whom he read MENNAHŌM. All that can be learned as to the others, on this tomb of Menephthah, is that they, as well as the Shepherds, are not southern but northern races.

It was this same king who ordered the inscriptions on the sides of the obelisk at Karnak, now in the Piazza Laterana at Rome. Among the historical notices we find it mentioned that he laid waste the enemy's country on the frontiers of Kesh, and subjugated the country of the Libyan Shepherds, the land of the bows (*petu*)[67]; and that he made a barge of the God Amun-Ra, of cedar (*ash*), cut in the land of the Rutennu. The following *chronological* fact is also stated, that *after the death of Thothmes III. the obelisk was 35 years in the hands of the workmen, till the reign of Thothmes IV.* [Birch. 1858.]

D.

THE EIGHTH REIGN: AMENŌPHIS III. (AMENHEPT RA-NEB-MA), SON OF TUTHMOSIS IV. (MONUMENTAL YEAR XXXVI.)

(Plate VII. 4_2.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. v. Pl. 70b—90.: end of the volume).

I. AMENŌPHIS III. AND HIS RELATION TO THE MEMNON OF THE GREEKS AND TO THE EXODUS.

THIS is the Pharaoh whose magnificent constructions show that the art of sculpture in Egypt had in his time very nearly arrived at its zenith. He is the monarch

[67] Al. Mar. Ungarelli, Interpretatio obeliscorum urbis Romæ. 1842. Fol. 39—42. Comp. Rosellini, M. St. iii. A. 209. and i. 191.

whom the Greeks and Romans, since the beginning of our era, have called Memnon, as the gigantic statue of him in the Amenopheum (on the west side of Thebes) is styled by them "the sounding stone," which Eos, the mother of the Ethiopian hero, saluted at sunrise with a clear-toned sound.

Letronne, whose sagacity and profundity of research so eminently distinguish his valuable labours, has proved the following points: that this designation of him, and all the evidence connected with it, are of more modern date than the earthquake which in the year 27 B.C. threw down the upper part of the northern colossus (in consequence of a crack in the stone); that these stories were not current after that part of it was restored in brick in the reign of Septimius Severus; and, lastly, that the Egyptians never regarded it as anything but a colossal statue of their king Amenhept Ra-neb-ma.

True it is that Hecatæus of Miletus sought for the Memnon of the Trojan legend in Egypt. He thought, according to Herodotus, that the sculptured figure, the Sesostris of the latter, was a representation of Memnon. We know now, at least, that the statue is not of Egyptian workmanship. The historical character of the Egyptian campaigns of the 14th and 15th centuries B. C. certainly is incontestable; and for that reason we cannot avoid entering into closer examination of the point, after we have refuted the fabulous conjectures of the Greeks, and the still more fabulous conjectures of the investigators of the last and present centuries. Whence did the Memnon come who is described in the Odyssey as the son of Eos and brother of Priam and the handsomest of the warriors; he whom Hesiod first called a king of Ethiopia, and the fabulous history of whom was told by the Cyclical Epics just as he was represented on the oldest vases and by the lyric poets? We now know that the Memnonia of the Greeks,

the so-called buildings of Memnon, were simply a misunderstanding of the word *mennen* which signifies vast monuments, especially sepulchral monuments. This, however, by no means justifies us in concluding that Memnon was merely the name of the builder of these fancied Memnonia in the dreams of the Greeks. The misunderstanding of the word *mennen* explains the fabulous use of the expression Memnonia, but not the origin of the name in the Epic age. On the contrary, it is the ancient legend alone about the enigmatical son of Eos in Ethiopia which explains the fact of the Greeks making a search after a king and hero of that name. The Greeks inquired after Memnon as they inquired after the king who was the host of Menelaus. The difference between the two cases is, that in the former they inquired after a prince out of the land of Ethiopia, who undertook an expedition into Asia Minor and there fought against the Greeks before Troy. It can be shown that the connexion between the name and Assyria or Media is of later date. Now it is true that the Ethiopia of the mythical age extended northwards as far as Phœnicia, and Joppa (Jaffa) was the most ancient locality for the history of Perseus and Andromeda, and the principal city of Kepheus, king of Ethiopia. This, however, does not seem to me to militate against the fact of Southern Egypt, and especially Ethiopia Proper, being the home of the Ethiopians. Any one, therefore, who will not adopt our version of the story about that great conqueror, as being the well known journey of the Sun-God (probably here therefore MIN, that is to say, SET), may regard him as a conqueror who came from Egypt, and whose warlike expeditions were kept alive among the Achæan races in some obscure legend. But the whole Ethiopian version of Memnon is in truth not Homeric. But were it ever so old, the connexion between an Ethiopian hero and the Trojan war might nevertheless be altogether unhistorical. Attila and

Theodoric of Bern are historical names of the fifth and sixth centuries, but the relation in which they stand to each other as contemporaries in the Germanic Epos, is just as little historical as the connexion between them and Sigfried the hero or god of the primeval times, or Pilgrim the bishop of the 11th century. Such a connexion would leave but a few centuries for the decomposition of the historical elements. The previous question, however, which was raised by Jacobs, is this — Whether Memnon was a historical personage? It is hardly probable that the Greeks ever thought of Amenōphis III. before the invention of the story about the sounding stone being saluted at dawn by his mother — a repetition of the old Hellenic fiction about the son of Eos in the first century of our era. It is consolatory to find that, in that melancholy period, poetry, ever blooming in the Hellenic mind, could create out of a sounding stone the salutation of the mournful son of Eos.

We have already discussed the subject of the religious changes which occurred in Central Egypt during the reign of this Amenōphis or immediately after his death. We know that political schisms took place directly after that event, and were productive of universal disorder, in which the House of the Tuthmōses perished. There is, however, not the slightest ground for supposing any general connexion between these events and a change of religion.

It is possible, indeed, that according to the ordinary assumption of the length of the period between the Exodus and the building of the Temple (480 years) the Exodus took place at this time, and that this Amenōphis was the first king under whom that great event could have taken place; for it is clear that it could not have occurred in the reign of the third Tuthmōsis, or at an earlier period.

But all the information we obtain from the monu-

ments of this Amenophis (a likeness of whom, copied from the splendid statue of him in the British Museum, is prefixed to this Book), about himself and the events of his reign, is altogether irreconcilable with such a supposition.

II. THE EDIFICES ERECTED BY AMENŌPHIS III. IN NUBIA AND SILSILIS: THE AMENOPHEUM ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THEBES, AND THE PALACE OF LUXOR ON THE EASTERN SIDE.

THE temple in Upper Nubia (Dongola), near Soleb[68], belonged to this Pharaoh. Two bearded prisoners, and one without a beard, are the representatives of his conquests. In the quarries of Silsilis are two rock-temples, each consisting of a single block, and containing inscriptions of Amenōphis. Unfortunately, his greatest work, the Amenopheum, on the western side of Thebes, is a total ruin. The fragments are scattered around the two colossi of the builder. The one on the right (as you view them) is the Memnon of the Greeks and Romans. The Egyptian name of the building was, THE HOUSE OF RA-NEB-MA. There was a temple attached to it, in which we find, in later times, "priests of RA-NEB-MA" established.[69] Rosellini quotes two of the titles of the king found among these inscriptions: "Pacificator of Egypt," and "Tamer of the Libyan Shepherds," with the remark that they are both repeated at Luxor. They must, consequently, as he rightly observed, allude to actual historical events.

Two large stelæ at the southern end of the ruins represent Amun-Ra and Osiris-Sokaris as the Temple-Gods. Rosellini considers the former to be the general patron of Thebes; the latter as the special God of the Temple, consequently, the Osiris of the Lower Regions, the God of the Realms of the Departed. He remarks, also, that

[68] Facsimiles in Cailliaud, Voyage à Méröe, ii. Pl. xiv. M. St. iii. A. 214. seq.

[69] M. St. iii. A. 219. seq.

Pliny (N. H. xxxv. 11.) says the Memnonium was dedicated to Serapis; which is simply the modern form of the Ruler of the Infernal Regions.

The great edifice of Amenōphis on the east side is better preserved — the so-called Palace of Luxor. The whole of this, including the gigantic entrance-hall, was erected by him, and dedicated to Father Ammon. One of the principal representations of the extant sculptures is the birth and consecration of the king, to whom all the Gods promise gifts and honours. This very remarkable subject has been explained by Rosellini in great detail and very successfully.[70] On one of them are two inscriptions[71], recording the subjugation of the country of the Retennu (the Ludim, in Mauritania), and the whole human race, by this monarch.

In another portion of these remains[72], Amun-Ra is giving him the People of the Nine Bows (the North-African bowmen) as his possession.

His most important monuments, however, in an historical sense, are four great scarabæi. Such historical scarabæi Rosellini happily compares to commemorative coins. Those which record the names of kings might perhaps be considered as small Egyptian coins; like the kowries in Africa at the present day. I remember to have heard Champollion express such an opinion in 1826.

These four scarabæi contain statements as to the frontiers of the Egyptian empire under Amenōphis at the time of his marriage with Taja. Rosellini has given copies and explanations of two of them.[73]

The inscription on the one now in the Louvre states that the king, Conqueror of the Libyan Shepherds, Husband of Taja, made the foreign country of the Karai his southern frontier, the foreign land of Nharina (Mesopotamia) his northern. These are the precise limits of

[70] Loc. cit. p. 223. seq. M. R. Pl. xxxviii.—xl.
[71] Idem, p. 236. seq. [72] Idem, p. 248.
[73] Idem, p. 260. seq. M. R. Pl. xliv.

the empire which Tuthmōsis III. established and his son maintained. The inscription on the other scarabæus, now in the Vatican, states that, in the *eleventh year and third month* of his reign, King Amenhept made a great tank or lake to celebrate the festival of the waters; on which occasion he entered it in the barge of "the Most Gracious Disk of the Sun." This substitution, by the king, of the barge of the Disk of the Sun for the usual barge of Amun-Ra, is the first indication of the heresy.

He united, also, his gorgeous edifice of Luxor by a double row of beautifully sculptured, colossal Ammon-sphinxes, in sandstone (having the body of a lion and head of a ram), with the temple of Chunsu at Karnak. This avenue of sphinxes was above a mile long. Rosellini counted them for 240 paces, and found 60 on each side, that is, one to every four paces: this, in a mile, would make 500 on each side. The ground all about it is now strewed with the fragments, on which his name may be read: some of them bear a human face. There seems to have been a similar avenue at Thebes, also constructed by Amenōphis, lined with colossal sitting statues of the lion- or cat-headed Goddess.

It has been already remarked that the southern frontier of the empire in the time of this Pharaoh cannot be accurately defined. But Ethiopia, likewise, must have been tributary to him. The tablet of the Duke of Northumberland, mentioned in our Introduction, when speaking of the measures of the Egyptians, represents him as saying, that he made a voyage on the Nile, "commencing from the harbour of BAKI, and terminating at the harbour of ATALI, on the river, fifty-two towings" (*saten* or *skaten*), i. e. towing-posts. Birch suggests whether Atali is not ADULIS? As to the identification of Baki, we cannot even offer a conjecture.

CONCLUSION.

COULD THE EXODUS POSSIBLY HAVE TAKEN PLACE DURING THIS PERIOD?

We are now arrived at the close of the Second Period of the New Empire; and the question arises, whether it is possible for the Exodus of the Jews to have taken place in it? It certainly could not have done so earlier. The oppression which led to the revolt, and ultimately to the Exodus, commenced under a monarch "who knew not Joseph." This, in ordinary political language, simply means that the king had ceased to exercise any kindness towards the Israelites. Ever since the days of Joseph they had been quietly settled in the country, and doubtless were scattered all over it; they had increased considerably in numbers, and were a cognate race to the detested enemies of Egypt, and originally shepherds themselves. The Pharaohs might, indeed, naturally apprehend that they would unite with the Hyksos against them. This, again, is equivalent to saying that the oppression of the Israelites commenced after the Shepherds, of whom they had such apprehension, had evacuated their impregnable intrenched camp at Avaris. Even Tuthmōsis III. would have been very careful not to drive to desperation, or even ill-treat, a manly closely united Asiatic race in the rear of the fortresses blockaded by him, and not far from the frontier of Egypt and Palestine. The oppression, therefore, could not have begun in the reign of either Makara or Amōsis, but only during the single reign of Tuthmōsis III. We may conclude that there was a period of undisturbed prosperity and successful aggrandisement in Egypt for about 60 years, from

his reign down to the death of Amenōphis III. It may be that the political and religious confusion in the time of Amenōphis was connected with the Exodus of the Jews, although we find no trace of it. This, however, is a mere possibility; and, in fact, only one as regarded from a purely Egyptian point of view. But, in such a case, what becomes of the long subjection so strongly dwelt upon in the Bible narrative, the last stage of which, in the childhood and youth of Moses, he so forcibly describes, and which, according to the literal interpretation of a passage in Genesis, lasted 215 years? This subjection, however, could not commence before the evacuation of the Shepherds. The above supposition, then, is at once untenable on the grounds of internal impossibility.

But there is also no authority for it in the Egyptian annals. We know from the controversial writings of Josephus that the question of the Exodus and the causes of it were discussed in the Alexandrian period, and that Manetho especially mentioned it in another passage. If we examine carefully the notion of the Fathers, that it took place in the 18th Dynasty, we shall find that it was based simply on two wholly unfounded assumptions. One is, that it coincided with the evacuation of Avaris by the Shepherds. It is difficult to say whether this harmonizes less with the Biblical account of the Exodus, or with the Egyptian account of the evacuation. The other assumption is, that the middle or beginning of the 18th Dynasty really coincided, or, at least, may by some manœuvring be made to synchronize, with the 480th (or 440th) year before the building of the Temple, at which date the Biblical narrative places the Exodus.

The former view, therefore, and everything based upon it, is purely visionary. But the assumption that the Exodus occurred in this period is equally untenable, and, when we examine more closely into the circum-

stances, there are considerable internal difficulties which stand in the way of it.

Makara (Tuthmōsis II.) had already established himself in the centre of the Peninsula of Sinai, and caused the quarries in the Copper-land to be worked. The inscriptions at Sarbut el Kadem, at Wadi Magara and Nasb, first published by Niebuhr, since described by Laborde, and latterly in greater detail by Lepsius, are proof of this. According to them, Tuthmōsis III. continued the works there, as did his successors down to Ramesses the Great inclusive.

The Copper-land extends throughout the breadth of the Peninsula to the northward of Serbal and what is usually known as Sinai, on the road which the Jews followed about the middle period of their sojourn in it. Under such circumstances, the Egyptians being in possession of the Peninsula, and drawing their supplies from it, and in the very neighbourhood of the principal encampment of the Israelites, can they possibly have remained there for years without a contest? Is it possible that no attempt should have been made from Egypt to attack them? and that the Midianites were at that time so powerful there?

The conclusion we draw from this inquiry, of which we now take leave, will be—that from the Egyptian point of view there is no ground whatever for supposing that the Exodus took place in the period before us; but that, on the contrary, not only the Biblical tradition, but the Egyptian also, as well as internal probability, are at variance with it.

SECTION III.

THE DOWNFALL OF THE HOUSE OF THE TUTHMŌSES IN THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SCHISMS AND CONFUSION.

THE NINTH (LAST) REIGN OF THE EIGHTEENTH, AND THE FIRST OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY. — 44 YEARS.

INTRODUCTION.

SURVEY OF THE DYNASTIC COMPLICATIONS.

WE have explained in the preceding Book, according to Lepsius, the dynastic relations which, after the death of Amenōphis III., led in the reign of Horus to quarrels and divisions. During the life of the latter, a rival sovereign first sprung up in the person of an elder brother, AAKHEN- (formerly read BEKHEN-) ATEN-RA, the KENCHERES of the Lists. His original name was AMEN-HEPT RA-NEFRU-KHEPERU (IV.). He adopted this title after having introduced the worship of the visible disk of the sun into his new capital (El Amarna in Central Egypt). It signifies "a worshipper of the sun's disk." Horus outlived him, as well as a younger brother, who received the royal dignity as Amentuankh RA-NEB-KHEPERU. There is palpable proof of this from Horus having erected a palace and temple upon the ruins or materials of the edifices of his rivals. The reign of the former of these antagonists, at all events, must have lasted a considerable time, for there are monuments of it mentioning the sixth year. These are met with only to the southward. Ashmunin, in Central Egypt, is the most northern city where traces are found of the rule of

Amenophis IV. The seat of the second schism was likewise in the south. The monuments of Amentuankh and his son exist only in Ethiopia.

This is an outline, but, though merely an outline, a faithful picture of those divisions which the recent labours of Lepsius have extracted from the monuments. As regards details, in the absence of any muse to unfold to us the history of Egypt, we shall do wisely to wait for further researches in those mute but eloquent contemporary records.

NINTH REIGN: THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY; HORUS (HERE M HEBI MERI-AMEN RA-SER-KHEPERU SETEP EN RA)[74], SON OF AMENŌPHIS III., AND HIS WORKS.

(Pl. VII. 43.)

HORUS AND THE COLLATERAL AND RIVAL SOVEREIGNS WITH HIM.

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. vi. Pl. 91—122.)

I. Horus and his Works.

In reference to this king, the only one recognised in the contemporary succession of kings as a legitimate Tuthmōsis, after the death of Amenōphis III., we have, as it seems to me, a very important though only a casual remark by Manetho. When speaking of Menephthah, the son of the Great Ramesses, he observes that "he desired to behold the Gods as one of his predecessors, Horus, did." Such a remark can only refer in the historical work to this King Horus, who, consequently, according to the testimony of Manetho, the high

[74] That is, "Horus in the Panegyries, the Beloved of Ammon." This is an undoubted instance of the whole family scutcheon not being usually inserted with the name. Of all its hieroglyphics one only is pronounced (the sparrowhawk).

priest, was a superstitious sovereign, devoted to the priests, and a contemplative enthusiast. From the extant history of his reign, he would seem to have been the victim of his own superstitious folly.

The monuments of his reign, which bear nevertheless on the face of them evidence of the high perfection of style which characterizes the dynasty, are principally of a religious and mystic tendency. Rosellini mentions the following edifices as erected by him: a richly ornamented temple hewn in the rock (*speos*) in Nubia, not far from the Second Cataract, near Djebel Addeh, on the east bank. Here and at Silsilis he is represented as the young Horus, suckled by his Goddess mother.[75] In the cavern temple of Silsilis, his warlike exploits are also represented, and indeed in Kush (Ethiopia), the seat of the revolt under Amentu-ankh, as we have seen above.[76] His gorgeous works were at Thebes, Luxor, and Karnak. Here he constructed the splendid avenue of colossal ram-headed sphinxes, raised upon pedestals, of most costly workmanship, of which Rosellini counted fifty on each side in a space of fifty paces. On a fragment of a wall the king is represented with his vanquished enemies, among whom the name BERBER is legible, signifying consequently people from Nubia.

II. NO GREAT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT TOOK PLACE IN THE REIGN OF HORUS.

IN giving an explanation of the mythological details, we have spoken of Wilkinson's remark, that in this king's time the name of the God Amun-Ra is the original one on the monuments, whereas, in that of Amenōphis III. and several of his predecessors in the 18th Dynasty, it is found substituted for that of some other divinity which has obviously been erased.

[75] M. R. Pl. xliv. [76] Idem; comp. M. St. iii. pp. 277—287.

It appears from the careful researches of Lepsius and Abeken in Nubia, that no trace exists in the scutcheons of Amenōphis I. of any such erasure having been made. On them the name Amn was the original one. But under Tuthmōsis III., wherever his name and likeness occur, another God had previously been portrayed. For instance, they found on the Nubian monuments, and especially on those at Soleb and Semneh, the Amn (both the name and figure of the God Ammon) on the scutcheons of Amenōphis II., as well as those of Amenophis III., upon a ground which had been chiseled out. But, as a general rule, the throne-names also of those two kings (Ra-aa-kheperu and Ra-neb-ma) were placed upon a scutcheon from which another name had been erased, in which they thought they could identify an Amenhept.

These circumstances induce us to abandon the conjecture advanced in the first part of this work, that in the scutcheons where the erasures exist the name Khemhept had originally stood. Lepsius has further investigated the state of the case in his instructive "Treatise on the first Circle of Gods" (p. 43.). When the fanatical sun-worshipper caused the name and scutcheons of these two kings to be erased, in order to place the throne-name in their stead, it frequently happened that two similar throne-name scutcheons stood side by side. Still it is established that under Tuthmōsis III. the name of Amun was substituted for that of another God. It is likewise established that we find afterwards, as well as before, Amun honoured as God, but Khem, the Phallic God of the Egyptians (their Pan), only in exceptional instances. Amun-Ra is represented by the side of the figure of Khem, and that only from the reign of Horus.

The further question arises then, whether the peculiar representation of the sun, as the visible ray-emitting disk, in the monuments of his rival, Aakhenaten,

has not some connexion with this singular change or occasional deviation, which ceases again on the monuments of Horus? Such a representation, however, which has nothing of the ordinary type about it, never occurs again. We find no trace of any further religious change connected with it. This circumstance, therefore, furnishes no ground for believing that any general religious movement occurred in the reigns of Amenōphis and Horus; and the last shadow of plausibility for the assumption that the Jewish exodus occurred at that time, owing to their taking advantage of a religious crisis in the country to throw off the yoke, necessarily vanishes.

The Egyptian annals, it is true, stated something about King Bokhoris and the Jews, which we can only refer to this King Horus on account of the name. But the fact connected with the name of Bokhoris is not the exodus, but the oppression, of the Jews. And as regards Scripture, we must not forget, that, of all the dates belonging to this portion of history, none appeared to us better authenticated than the one which defines *two hundred and fifteen years as the time of the bondage.*

III. THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

No tombs of the Tuthmōses or any other legitimate kings of the 18th Dynasty have hitherto been discovered. This is the more remarkable, as those of the kings of the 19th and 20th Dynasties have almost all been found in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings (Biban el Moluk). Researches on the spot have hitherto been fruitless.

Were they interred in their own "houses," the Tuthmōseum and Amenōpheum? Amenōphis III. had priests in his "house" till a late period. The God of the Dead was the chief divinity there. Was it some-

thing of this kind which led Hecatæus at a later date, as mentioned in Diodorus, to tell the story about the tomb of Osymandyas? There is a remarkable and striking resemblance between that fabulous tomb and the Ramesseum, which is still in existence, and was probably built upon a similar plan to the two above mentioned.

IV. Conjectures as to the Internal History of this Period.

There is, however, a more important question, namely, What was the condition of Egypt and its people in this gloomy conclusion of the great and brilliant period of more than two hundred years? How rapid a downfall after soaring so high! It commenced with victorious struggles and a glorious restoration of the power of the Pharaohs in Memphis and the Delta. The fourth king recovered almost the whole of the old northern frontier of the empire by pushing the Hyksos into a corner at Avaris. His younger brother, Tuthmōsis III., the grandson of Amos, ascended the throne in the 82nd year of the dynasty, and after an unsuccessful siege induced the foreigners to evacuate the country.

In the reign of Tuthmōsis II., also, the splendour and number of the temples and palaces began to increase considerably, in both which respects Tuthmōsis III. surpassed all his predecessors.

The empire extended to Ethiopia as far as Meroe, to the Copper-land of Arabia in the Peninsula of Sinai, and northwards as far as Mesopotamia. It is authentically recorded that these were its limits under Tuthmōsis III. and Amenōphis III.,—a fresh proof of the impossibility of the Jews having at that time any thoughts of returning to Palestine.

Shortly after this, however, internal disturbances shook the foundations of the dynasty and the state.

Schisms in the royal family sprung up in the shape of rivalry between Memphis and Ethiopia, the elements of hostility being of a religious character.

But, if we inquire into the particular history of the period, we must admit that it is for the most part lost. The only records we possess of the state of popular life are the works of art, and the products of industry in all its branches, which the ruins of that age exhibit. It would seem from these to have been a prosperous period—an Augustan age, the culminating point of high historical art in architecture and sculpture. All travellers are agreed that the style of the 19th Dynasty is not so grand, although more gorgeous. The works of Sethos alone are in pure taste. All that we know at present of the literature is that the writing in the papyri is most beautiful. All traces of the weal and the woes of the people, as well as of the wisdom and characters of their priests, have disappeared. The form of government had already probably become a stereotyped despotism, although under popular masters.

SECTION IV.

THE RISE AND MERIDIAN OF THE HOUSE OF RAMESSES: RAMESSES I. AND THE TWO GREAT CONQUERORS, SETHOS AND RAMESSES II. — 85 YEARS.

A.

THE FIRST REIGN OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY: RAMESSES I. (RAMESSU RAMEN PEH), SON OF ATHÔTIS AND GRANDSON OF AMENÔPHIS III.

(Plate VIII. 3_1.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. vi. Pl. 123, 124.)

We possess no monuments of Ramesses I., the chief of the 19th Dynasty. There is at Wadi-Halfa (Behni in Egyptian), at the Second Cataract, a stele erected by his son Seti I. commemorative of the presents made by him there to the temple of Hor-Ammon. Similar honorary monuments were set up in other places by his son or posterity.

Strangely enough his tomb in Biban el Moluk has no ornaments at all, nor has the granite sarcophagus still standing in the rock-chamber. It is only on the walls of the sepulchral chamber that some of the ordinary scenes representing the destiny of the soul are painted, clearly in the king's lifetime.

It appears that his mother, the youngest daughter of Amenôphis III. and wife of the priest Ai (the Skhai of Champollion), was not called Teti, but Tii. We are not in a condition to determine how many years of the 12 or 9, which are ascribed to Athôtis, belong to the independent reign of Ramesses. If, however, we follow the

contemporary royal tablets, and omit Athôtis, it is necessary to give the son more than one year, which Lepsius seems to assign to him.

B.

THE SECOND REIGN OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY: SETHOS I. (SETHÔSIS, SETI MERI-EN-PTEH RA-MEN-MA), SON OF RAMESSES I. — 9 YEARS.

(Plate VIII. 3_2.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. vi. Pl. 124—141.)

I.

SETI ON THE MONUMENTS.

(Ros. M.R. XLVI.—LXI.)

THIS great king, still most uncritically styled by some Menephthah, contrary to the correct reading of the hieroglyphics on the royal scutcheons, is one of the most remarkable and most glorious Pharaohs of the empire, both on account of his contests and victories and the magnificence of his palaces at Thebes, as well as the gorgeous and important representations on his tomb. He was, indeed, perhaps the most illustrious and celebrated hero of the New Empire. This glorious reign cannot have lasted very long, not merely according to the Lists when properly understood, but because his edifices as well as his tomb itself, were completed by his son and successor. The only one of his regnal years recorded on his monuments is the first. It is mentioned on an inscription of a rock-temple in the Heptanomis, dedicated by Sethos to Pacht, known as the SPEOS ARTEMIDOS.

In order to obtain a solid foundation for our historical restoration, let us first examine what the monuments say about him.

"The house of Sethos" in Western Thebes, commonly known as Gurnah, was erected by him in honour of his father. The Great Ramesses adorned it with sculptures. He continued the buildings of Horus in Luxor. In Karnak he erected the vast hall supported by pillars (7), although it was his great son who completed and dedicated it.

This gorgeous building and his tomb are the two classic monuments for his history, and the evidence of the high character of art during his reign.

I. Representation of Seti's Exploits in the great Hypostyle at Karnak.

(*Plan of Karnak*, 7.)

Here, on the external wall of the enclosure to the north-east, the exploits of Sethos I. are represented, and they are, upon the whole, in good preservation. Rosellini describes their surpassing beauty in enthusiastic terms, which we give below in his own harmonious language.[77]

[77] M. St. iii. A. 320. seq.: "Nè io presumo di poter con parole, e nè anco col mezzo dei disegni, comecchè fatti con molto sapere e diligenza, far concepire ai miei lettori la stupenda bellezza di quelle sculture. Solo dirò che come desse agguagliano in magistero d'arte tutto ciò che di più perfetto produssero gli egiziani scalpelli, così considerato il numero, i movimenti, l'estensione delle figure e le gigantesche forme di quelle che sopra le masse grandeggiano, niuna nazione mai al mondo, antica o moderna, ciascuna secondo l'indole e il carattere dell'arte sua, osò di operare con tanto ardimento, o pervenne a imprimere alle sue opere maggior vita, e dirò quasi maggior prestigio, di quello che in queste nostre sculture rifulge, a comprendere di alta maraviglia li occhi e la mente di chi le riguarda. Tutte le durezze di contorno, i difetti di prospettiva, i mancamenti infine che può riconoscervi l'arte del disegno nella perfezione che acquistò poscia per l'ingegno dei Greci, sono altrettanti caratteri che rendono quelle egiziane opere di una originalità inimitabile; che costituiscono un' arte singolare, la quale non può paragonarsi a quella di niun altro popolo; che ti rapisce infine col magico effetto delle sue masse e con una certa ingenuità dei particolari, senza lasciarti riflettere a tutto quanto è difetto secondo le regole dell' arte nostra."

These painted bassi rilievi represent five triumphs of the monarch, as it would seem, over five different nations. Each of them concludes with thanks to Amun-Ra.

1. *The Triumph over the Lutennu (or Retennu).*

We have already described these people as being identical with the Ludim of Scripture, the nation from the coast of North Africa, skilled in archery, who are mentioned by the Prophets in conjunction with the Libyans. In proof of the fallacy of supposing them to be Lydians is the fact of their being mentioned here again with the people of the "nine bows," a North-African race. Rosellini, in order to conceal the contradiction, translates them "Barbarians," and thinks that again in this instance there may be a rapid transition from Asia to Africa.[78]

The REMNU are mentioned as a *portion* of the Retennu. The upper part of that country is specifically introduced. A fortress surrounded with water is captured. The chief prisoners, employed in hewing wood, beg for mercy. Lebanon is among the places conjectured, and, as the inscription says that the prisoners are cutting down trees for the barge of Amun-Ra on the Nile, the conjecture is highly probable. This name signifies "the white," alluding to its snow-capped summit: but the Egyptians rightly considered it a proper name.

2. *The Triumph over the Shasu, i.e. Shepherds.*

According to the inscription, the struggle took place in the first year of his reign. It states that[79] "the defeated from the land of the Shasu (Shepherds), in the fortress GAIMUI, to the hostile land of Kanaana . . . . the King conquered their valley."

[78] M. St. iii. A. 335.

[79] M. St. iii. 340. seq. M. R. Pl. xlviii. 2.

Here then we are in Asia, and, in fact, in Palestine. A fortress is seen on a rock with the inscription "*Fortress of the Land of Kanaana.*"

There can be no doubt that the Shepherd races in Canaan are here meant. Kanaana (Pl. xlix. 1.), according to our reading, corresponds exactly with the full Hebrew form. In the following representation Rosellini thinks there is a break, because the enemy has the character of the Remnu. It states that the king has "defeated the Nine bows, the Shepherds, and the great men of Shumui," (Champollion reads Shari, and takes them for the modern Bishari,) and built a double wall against "the lands of the unclean." But this resemblance and the mention of the North-Africans need not cause any difficulty. We consider it simply as the notice of the conquests over the Shepherd races generally, on both sides — towards Palestine and Arabia Petræa on one side, towards Libya on the other. This is our explanation of the *double* wall (eastern and western), which the king built against the Bedouins of that day.

In the next sculpture (Plate xlix. 2.) the Shasu, or Shepherds, are again mentioned in or near Canaan, and at the same time the Shumui, noticed above with the Nine bows, which proves that there is no break.[80] Here there are three fortresses and two lakes, and the last of the fortresses is stated (p. 348.) to have been erected by Sethos, and was probably, therefore, a frontier fortress.

Rosellini remarks (p. 359.) that the king's title of most frequent occurrence means "Guardian of Egypt," which has perhaps some connexion with the frontier fortresses and double wall.

When he returns in triumph, the Nile is represented with a fortress (*khetem*). Rosellini says the name is

[80] M. St. iii. 354.; comp. 346.

destroyed, but Birch reads it Garu. As there are a river and lake in the picture, and as the king must have been received on the frontiers of his new country, this is probably Pelusium or some city near it. There is also, beyond all doubt, a bridge. (p. 362.) The priests and grandees of the country come to meet the victorious monarch with festivities and homage. The inscription, which is well preserved, runs thus: "The most distinguished priests of the Gods, the presidents of the upper and lower country, come to do homage to the good God on his return from the foreign land of the Retennu, after he has conquered and reduced to slavery many great men. *None has been seen like him except Osiris.*" When adoring his majesty, and extolling the increase of his power, they say: "Thou hast gone forth to subjugate foreign lands, and hast trodden the world under foot with the voice of thy truth: thine enemies thou hast defeated on the (first) day of thy reign, like Ra in heaven: thou hast purified the hearts of all barbarians. Ra gave thee their frontiers before thee, thy battle-axe was over the thrones of all foreign lands — their priests were pierced by thy sword."[81] The prisoners here announced to Ammon are called, in one group, "Princes of the land of the Retennu," and in another, "Prisoners of the Shasu," in the first year of his reign.

The passage where the conqueror of the northern people is mentioned as being only second to Osiris, is not simply authentic authority for the high position of Sethos, but it explains also the remark which we found applied to Sesortosis-Sesostris of the 12th Dynasty in Manetho's Lists. After mentioning the great victories of that hero of the Old Empire, it is said that he was celebrated on that account by the Egyptians *as the first after Osiris.* (See Book II. p. 293. seq. especially

[81] M. St., loc. cit., p. 366. seq.

p. 302.) This is literally what is here said of Sethos. In other words, he is described as the Sesostris of the New Empire. This is clearly the origin of the confusion of the Sesostride and Ramesside legends, though in the person of his great father, not of Ramesses himself.

3. *The Triumph over the Atsh in the Land of Amar.* (Pl. LIII.)

This representation commences with the taking of the hostile fortress. The enemy look like the Remnu. Shepherds with cattle flying are seen not far from a fort situated on a rock. All the rest is destroyed.

4. *The Triumph over the Tahu, in the Land of the Retennu.*

These sculptures are better preserved, but our knowledge of the names of the conquered races is obtained from inscriptions of one and the same picture.[82] Their hands are tied together with papyrus leaves, which proves them to have come from the North of Egypt.

5. *The Triumph over the Khet, Kheta.*

This representation is a very remarkable one. Rosellini unluckily took it into his head that they were Scythians, and the Scythians the Hyksos. We believe, on the contrary, that philologically, as well as geographically, the choice lies only between the Khitti of the Bible and the Kittim[83], i.e. between the Hethites and the inhabitants of Cyprus. We should without hesitation decide in favour of the Hethites, that ancient and powerful people of Canaan, among whom Abraham dwelt in South Palestine at Hebron, did we not find express mention made in Manetho of Cyprus having been con-

[82] M. St. Pl. lvi. Conf. M. St. iii. p. 383.

[83] חִתִּי; כִּתִּים, כִּתִּיִים, Khittaei, Citienses.

quered by Sethos. We therefore leave the point open, as offering a possibility of the name alluding to these islanders. The Kheta are here armed with bows and arrows, and wear long square shields; they have no beard, a close-fitting cap on their heads, and sometimes a feather. The hair falls in thick clusters from the cap on to their shoulders. (Pl. LVIII. seq.) Their long coat is fastened with a girdle, and has short sleeves.

The king who conquered them is styled also "Tamer of the Libyan Shepherds." (p. 394.) The Retennu do homage to him. (p. 398.) It is said of him, that he has twice devastated the land of the Kheta with fire. (p. 401.) Another inscription (p. 402., comp. Pl. LVII.) seems to say that the king carries with him the princes of the hostile country of the Retennu after his victories over the Kheta.

Each of the two main divisions of all these five representations finishes with a large figure, which bears the stamp of being the august portrait of the king. (Pl. LX. LXI.)

Sethos is holding nine prisoners of nine different races, four besides the above five, some of them evidently negroes.

Over some of the groups (p. 409.) he is called the Conqueror of the land of Petu, Pet, and of the Libyan Shepherds; and it seems that NHRA (Naharina, Mesopotamia) is mentioned as the frontier. Retennu and Nubia are also mentioned. (p. 416.)

The nations who are grouped in three rows before Ammon are thus arranged:

I. Southern nations: "Race of Kesh" (Ethiopia) (p. 420.):
   1. Utra—Urashu—Emrakaraka—Kuka.
   2. Srani—Brabra (Berbers)—Takrrr (probably Dakruri in Upper Nubia, as Rosellini thinks)—Irimtata—Kurass—Urak;
   3. Tururak.

II. Northern nations: The five peoples enumerated above:

1. "Libyan Shepherds" (the Mennahom of Rosellini):
   - Khet;
   - Naharina;
   - Rtn (Upper and Lower);
   - Sinkar (Rosellini happily suggests Singara, near Edessa[84]);
   - Unut;
   - Pebash;
   - (Two illegible ending in *na.*)
2. Asi:
   - Mennus;
   - Bairanut;
   - Unnu;
   - Shasu (Shepherds);
   - Sritu;
   - Punt (Pnn, land of the red granite, on the Red Sea; perhaps Mauritania; certainly *not* Pœni, Puni, Phœnicians);
   - Rhsh; and a few others obliterated.
3. Atmes:
   - Mensaû;
   - Ushah;
   - Nuahu;
   - Mehekmu;
   - Tinhur;
   - Anakm;
   - Memtu;
   - Matu;
   - Turt;
   - Sthebu;
   - Pekatmu.

[84] Pliny, N. H. v. 24. Steph. de Urb. s. v.

We maintain that, to an Egyptian, the northern nations mean in fact races of North Africa, consequently Libyans, and perhaps Mauritanians. This view was first developed with great ingenuity and equal scholarship by our learned friend, Colonel Mure, in a treatise which we shall shortly be called upon to examine more closely. Rosellini's idea, that the Rmmn, Shasu, Amar, Tahn, and Khet in the above inscriptions must be counted among the RTNN, and that the latter are Lydians, i. e. Asiatics, is untenable. The inscriptions do *not* say so, and *Lud* is not Lydia, still less Asia, which is a very modern idea.

II. THE TOMB OF SETI.—THE REPRESENTATION OF THE FOUR RACES OF MEN.

THE representations on the magnificent tomb of this king in the valley of Biban El Moluk contain no historical subjects, except the celebrated group of the FOUR RACES, each represented by four men. They stand in one row (as may be seen in Belzoni's work, who discovered it), and form the following groups (Ros. M. R. CLV. CLVI.):

First: The TAMAHU, fair-complexioned, in long clothing of skins without girdles, with painted (tattooed) skin, little beard, the hair artistically arranged, a long tuft on the cheek and two ostrich feathers on the head.

Secondly: The NEHES (Nhsu), Negroes, with their under garments and a shawl thrown over the left shoulder serving as a girdle, and golden bracelets hanging from the wrist.

Thirdly: The HEM (Hemu), of a light brown colour, well-formed men, with fine under garments, the hair in a bag hanging down, and blue eyes. The usual reading is Aamu (Great of the Water): Birch suggests either the Hebrew word *'ham*,

people, or *gojim*, nations, as the derivation. The former written with the letter Ain is the more probable, according to the correspondence of the two alphabets.[85]

Fourthly: The Ret, i.e. the kind, the race, or especially the men, a representation of four Egyptians followed by Horus.

The simple question naturally is, whom are we to understand by the first and third rows? We must here give our full acquiescence in the explanation of these representations offered by Mure, as early as 1836, in the annals of the Archæological Institute at Rome, in opposition to the views of Champollion and Rosellini. He does not consider Africa, Europe, and Asia to be here depicted, but in the first group the inhabitants of Mauritania and North Africa generally, in the third, the inhabitants of Palestine. Everything that has since been advanced by Osburn and others as to it and the names is unwarranted by philology, and at variance with historical probability. All that we can venture to say is, that the group immediately preceding the Egyptians probably represents the Asiatics who were known to them, namely, the Semitic people of Palestine, Syria, and possibly also Arabia. They exhibit the high-born impress of the Caucasian race, which we are in the habit of calling Oriental, and hence they bear an unmistakable resemblance to the handsomely featured Jews, or the Assyrians and Persians on the monuments of Nineveh and Persepolis. Thus also the Tamahu may be considered to represent the Libyans in the widest sense, as precisely similar representations occur with the name of Pet, the people of the nine bows. As Ret is not the proper name of the Egyptians, it need be no matter of surprise that the names Hemu and Tamahu are not met with in the numerous representa-

[85] See the Alphabet (Phonetics, M. 8.) in Vol. I. Part I.

tions of single conquered nations. At present, however, no philological explanation of these names has been discovered. The solution offered of the general appellation of the Asiatics as "Great of the Water" is as questionable as Osburn's fanciful notion (who translates it ungrammatically "Great Water") that it means the Euphrates, and contains an allusion to the origin of the human race on the great river.

There is one circumstance, independent of such uncertain names, which, as regards the research into the old people-history, seems to me more important than any conjectures as to their meaning. Everything combines to render it probable that the extent of the campaigns of the Tuthmōses and Ramessides, as well as of the names of the people, which are in fact frequently repeated, was, as regards general history, a very narrow one. Wherever we discover an undoubted historical Asiatic name, it is in Palestine or Syria. Here we have Canaan and the Hethites, here also Damascus; and, as a general rule, the extreme northern point seems to be Mesopotamia (Naharina). If, then, we compare with this limited theatre of the campaigns and conquests of the Pharaohs of that age, the vast number of names which are recorded as individual peoples, it is clear, in the first place, that no great empire then existed in Palestine and Syria, not even a single important state. The second result, and one which is a direct consequence of the other, is, that these monuments represent the condition of those countries as precisely identical with what we find in the most ancient accounts in the Bible —single Canaanitish races, principally nomads, with a few towns some of which were fortified. We may also with probability infer from it that no powerful empire then existed on the Tigris and Euphrates, in Mesopotamia, Nineveh, or Babylon. These two cities are made tributary without any great effort, like the others. Had the kingdom of Babylon been still in exist-

ence, there would have been greater adhesion among these separate races in those productive regions.

Our only hope of making any real advance as to a knowledge of the state of these countries lies in a critical comparison of the Egyptian geography of Palestine and Syria with the most ancient Hebrew, and with the Syrian and Canaanitish races and localities on the oldest Assyrian monuments. We are not, however, so far advanced at present as to be able to institute any such comparison with a reasonable expectation of success.

II.

SETHOS, THE FATHER OF RAMESSES, IN THE HISTORICAL TRADITION AS RESTORED.

In the passage transmitted by Josephus out of Manetho's historical work, or, at all events, all that is important in it, we learn that Sethosis, i. e. Sethos I., first conquered Cyprus and Phœnicia and then made a successful expedition against the Assyrians and Medes. After this, on his return from that expedition, while sojourning in Pelusium, he was treacherously threatened by his brother Armais with being burnt to death, from whom, with a few attendants, he escaped as it were by a miracle. This campaign then, as Lepsius has rightly remarked, does not belong to Ramesses, but to his father. This puts an end to the fruitless search after the supposed double of Ramesses, on whom Rosellini especially has expended so much ingenuity, and in whom Kenrick still believes. No such double is to be found on the monuments, for it is beyond all question that the cruel brother was a paternal uncle of Ramesses, who received in his father's lifetime the merited reward of his treachery.

If we turn back to the monuments, we find that the

Punt, who are not PŒNI, furnish no evidence as to the conquest of the Phœnicians; nor do we meet with any trace of Sidon, the ancient Tsidon of Scripture (probably therefore in Egyptian, Titun, Tintun), or of Tyre. But Seti did conquer the land of Kanaana and the Kheta (Hittites); and Phœnicia, according to the most ancient phraseology, belonged to the land of Canaan. With a Phœnician fleet, therefore, he may very well have gone to the island of Cyprus. Hence, it is not in itself impossible that the Kheta and Kittæans, i. e. Cyprians, the Kittim of Scripture, were the same name. If they are different names, according to all analogy of sound, as far as we know, they must be Hittites. The Egyptians must have written the word Kittæans with a K instead of Ch.

But Cyprus cannot have been more than temporarily subject to Egypt. The occupation of a remote island in the Mediterranean must necessarily have been perilous to them. How could they retain it for any length of time, not only without being certain of Phœnicia, but of Crete also, which they doubtless knew as Kaphtor, where their arch-enemies the Philistines of Palestine, probably the remains of the northern Hyksos races themselves, were settled? But there is no trace of anything of the kind on the monuments. On the contrary, the struggle with the Kheta lasts throughout the whole period, and it was evidently one of primary importance to the Egyptians. The monuments of Ramesses place this in the clearest light.

From all these considerations, we draw the conclusion that the statement in Manetho as to the conquest of Cyprus arises from a misunderstanding of the Kheta on the monuments. This assumption has everything in its favour, and nothing against it. Long before the time of Manetho the Hittites had disappeared entirely from Palestine and from history, the Jewish and Philistine conquests having, shortly after the time of Ra-

messes, destroyed their power for ever. On the other hand, in Manetho's time the name of the Kittæans, or Kittites, was in every body's mouth in Egypt as well as in Greece.

In imputing, however, to Manetho a misunderstanding of the meaning of the name of a foreign people who had ceased to exist, we do not derogate from his high value as an annalist, especially as regards his knowledge of the monuments of the kings whose history he wrote. Such a misunderstanding is as compatible with a knowledge of the monuments, as a correct interpretation of them. There is, on the other hand, nothing to be said against the statement as to the subjugation of the Phœnicians. If the account of Ramesses's expedition to Babelmandeb be historical, it may have been performed by Phœnician sailors. But an expedition to Mesopotamia, at all events, implies the submission of the Phœnician cities. There are to this day, indeed, scutcheons of Ramesses on the coast.

Thus much as to the first part of the campaigns and conquests of Seti according to Manetho. We may venture to assert that the monuments offer ample evidence of the historical character of these notices.

As regards the campaigns "against the Assyrians and Medes," we certainly have no records, except as to the expedition to Mesopotamia (Naharina) and the uncertain mention of Edessa on the Euphrates. But this may suffice to explain Manetho's statement, if we assume that Mesopotamia was the point in dispute between Egypt and an Assyro-Babylonian empire, as it was under Tuthmōsis III.; add to which, that much that has been transmitted to us is mutilated, much more entirely lost. The flourishing age of Assyria only begins with Ninus, 120 years after Seti. But the empires of the Euphrates are much older, as well as the Bactrian state. It must especially be remembered, however, that successful forays are not lasting con-

quests. The son and successor of Sethos had to reconquer the same countries; Tuthmōsis III. received tribute from Nineveh and Babel.

The representation of the third historical campaign, the return to Pelusium, is drawn in very marked colours. The prominence given to his triumphant entry into a place that every victorious Pharaoh must have touched at on his return, his brilliant reception there, and apotheosis, as it were, may be most naturally accounted for by a circumstance about which the monuments are silent, though it is mentioned in the annals, the miraculous escape of the king from the murderous attack of his treacherous brother.

In this manner it seems that the reign of Seti I. emerges most satisfactorily from the obscurity of ancient misunderstandings and fables into historical light. We have shown in the First Book that the name of Sesostris given by Herodotus to Ramesses, and his campaigns of nine years' duration ascribed by Diodorus to the same Ramesses, belong to the Great Sesortosis of the 12th Dynasty. The confusion in the names of Sethos and Ramesses, the father and son, in the history of the great conquests of the 19th Dynasty, was, however, the source of still greater blunders. These we may now hope to rectify by combining a study of the monuments with the criticism of Manetho and the Greek writers. The general results of these two reigns of the fourteenth century B.C. can be developed with the same authentic certainty as those of David and Solomon, three centuries later. Our knowledge of their personality and of their intellectual development will, it is true, always remain as far inferior as it now is to our knowledge of the two Jewish kings: but it must correspond exactly with their intellectual importance to history generally.

C.

THE THIRD REIGN: RAMESSES II. (RAMeSSU: WITH THE ADDITION MeRI-AMN (MIAMÛ), RA-SeSeR-MA: FREQUENTLY WITH THE ADDITION SeTeP-eN-RA), SON OF SETHOS I.

(Plate VII. 4$_1$.)

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. vi. Pl. 142—172.: end of volume.)

"Mox visit (Germanicus) veterum Thebarum magna vestigia. Et manebant structis molibus litteræ Ægyptiæ, priorem opulentiam complexæ, jussusque e senioribus sacerdotum patrium sermonem interpretari referebat habitasse quondam septingenta millia ætate militari, atque eo cum exercitu regem Ramsen Libya, Æthiopia Medisque et Persis et Bactriano ac Scytha potitum, quasque terras Syri Armeniique et contigui Cappadoces colunt, inde Bithynum hinc Lycium ad mare imperio tenuisse. Legebantur et indicta gentibus tributa, pondus argenti et auri, numerus armorum equorumque, et dona templis, ebur atque odores, quasque copias frumenti et omnium utensilium quæque natio penderet, haud minus magnifica, quam nunc vi Parthorum aut potentia Romana jubentur."—*Tacit. Annal.* ii. 60.

I.

SETHOS, RAMSES, MENEPHTHAH: OR THE ELEVATION, CULMINATION, AND FALL OF THE HOUSE OF RAMESSES.

Ramesses the Ammon-loving, with the throne-name "Helios, strength of truth," and usually with the addition "tried by Helios," is one of those false idols which criticism may be pardoned for having set up. He was certainly a warrior and a conqueror. His

reign was long, and the beginning of it glorious, externally, at least. The ruins of his buildings still cover the land over which he ruled. But the name so loudly extolled is that of the father, Sethosis. He is the celebrated hero, second only to the divine Osiris. His reign was short, but triumphant to the last. He left his monuments unfinished, but the highest honours were paid to him, not merely by the priests, but also by the people. Ramesses reigned above sixty-six years. He inherited from his father a mighty empire, and an army accustomed to fight and to conquer. With it he subdued, or rather marched through, Nubia to the south, Mesopotamia and Palestine to the north; but he left behind him an exhausted and debilitated kingdom, and a dynasty so shattered, that his son and successor was obliged, in a few years, to flee the country before rebellious outcasts and prisoners employed on his buildings, and before the Palestinian hordes who joined them. This is the concise picture which the monuments offer of these three remarkable races, and which we with confidence introduce into the history of the old world. But what further detail have we of the brilliant appearance of this Ramesses, who before the discovery of the hieroglyphics was in the eyes of many scholars the echo of a fable; and is still perhaps in Germany, to many a speculative hunter after myths and dreamy antiquarian, a mythological hero in disguise, if not even a fallen God, or a raindrop that has evaporated? The critical question at present is simply this: What part of the Sesostris-Sethosis tradition belongs to him, and what to his father? What part of it, again, is to be abstracted from both of them and given to the two great rulers of the 3rd and 12th Dynasties, the two Sesortoses or genuine Sesostrises?

II.

RAMSES II., SON OF THE GREAT SETHOSIS, AND HIS EXPLOITS, ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.

We will first of all, again taking Rosellini as our principal guide, go through the separate buildings[86], and give an account of the historical facts they contain. The representation of that excellent describer is unfortunately sullied by his erroneous idea, that the scutcheon of this king, without the addition in the throne-name, is intended for the younger brother, whom he therefore calls Ramses II., in order to distinguish him from the Great Ramesses, whom he calls Ramses III.

The colossal statue at Memphis alone (34½ feet from head to foot), now lying on the ground at Mit-Rahineh, which once adorned the temple of Ptah, not to mention other reasons, might have prevented this unprejudiced critic from falling into the error of the French school, which to our astonishment has been adopted by Kenrick. For in this unquestionable portrait of the conqueror, which corresponds in every respect with the representations extant of him in the museums of Turin and London, the clasp of the girdle contains the full title, whereas there are scutcheons on both sides of it without the addition "tried by Helios." The portrait of Ramses, which has all the marks of being a likeness, exhibits the highest ideal of the Egyptian countenance. What is supposed to be the portrait of the brother is the well-known beautiful face of Ramesses. It is also an error to suppose that the two brothers, as separate individuals, are standing before their father at Ipsambul. It is the king, once as a mortal, and once as a divinity, giving blessing to the king, that is, to himself. But the whole story of *two* brothers Ramesses is a pure fable.

[86] M. R. Pl. lxiv.—cxiv. M. St. iii. B. 1—296.

I. ROCK-TEMPLE AT BEIT-UALLI IN NUBIA.

IN the small rock-temple of Beit-Ualli, not far from Talmis (Kalabshe[87]), in Nubia, the king is represented as "Conqueror of the Nine Bows" (usually called Libyans), and "the heretic race of the Kesh" (Kushites). The latter have the complete Asiatic type. In another representation he is said to have tamed the Tehennu. The conquered race is bearded, and of a yellowish red complexion. These then represent his triumphs over the people of Southern and Northern Africa. In another representation we read, "Under the soles of thy feet are the Sharui," a people whom we have found mentioned in the exploits of Sethos, together with the Shasu (Palestinian Shepherds) and the Nine Bows. In the representation on the left side of the entrance of the rock, we read (p. 33.), "The King has encompassed with war the land of the Retennu." He is accompanied in this campaign by two of his sons. The elder stands before him as standard-bearer, and presents to him the African booty (p. 34. seq.). Among the prizes is the son of an Ethiopian king, Amenemhept, dressed as an Egyptian. Among the animals we notice the gazelle and giraffe. The children have three single tufts on their head, the rest of which is shaved, as we find them at the present day in Nubia (p. 38.). The conquered Ethiopians are armed with long bows, such as those described by Strabo, six feet long, made of wood, and hardened in the fire. Amongst the objects of value are gold and precious stones, ivory, and ebony. Champollion, therefore, very properly calls attention to the passage in Diodorus, where Sesostris is mentioned as imposing tribute on the Ethiopians of ivory, gold, and ebony[88]— whether by Sesostris be meant Ramesses, or his father, or even the old real Sesostris.

[87] M. R. Pl. lxiv.—lxxv.

[88] Diod. Sic. i. 33. Comp. Strabo, xvii. 23.

On the sculptures of this temple Rosellini invariably found the addition, "tried by Ra." On all the other larger monuments he is either represented alone, or occasionally with the shorter form.

II. The Great and Little Rock-Temples at Ipsamboul.

The grandest of all the rock-temples at Ipsambul (in Egyptian, Abshek[89]), half a day's journey from Wadi-Halfa, on the left bank, is also the work of the great Ramses. It was dedicated by him to Ra, and a smaller one by his wife, Nefruari, to Hathor.[90] Almost all the walls of the rock in this gloomy cavern are covered with the most splendid bassi rilievi. The principal personages are the size of life. We are indebted to the Italico-French Commission, and especially Rosellini, for Champollion was laid up at the time with fever, for clearing the entrance, which was choked up with sand, and making an accurate copy of all the representations.

The king is accompanied by three of his sons. There is on one picture a list of the conquered nations[91], the following names of whom are still legible: the Libyan Shepherds; the Nhsi (Negroes); a portion of the northern country of the Hemu; a part of Nubia; Shasu (shepherds); the Retennu, who have been as ill treated by the interpreters as they were by the Egyptians; and the Tehennu. On the clothes of one of the latter prisoners is the plant of the south, which Rosellini explains as representing the southern portion of a country to the north of Egypt. The complexion and features certainly look

[89] Rosellini, p. 668., compares the Aboccis of Pliny, mentioned by him with Pselcis and Primis (Dekke and Ibrim). Ptolemy has Ἀβουκκίς.

[90] M. R. lxxix.—ciii.

[91] Pl. lxxxiii. Comp. M. St. p. 105. seq.

like North Africa. In another picture[92] is represented his conquest over the Ethiopians and Nubians. Here the king is accompanied by a tiger or panther. This is, perhaps, the origin of the story about the lion, which, according to Diodorus, is represented fighting by the side of Sesostris. It may, however, not be intended as actually accompanying him, as in the case of Tippoo Saib, but merely as the emblem of strength. It is here that Ramses himself, as the God Ra, sitting between Ammon and Muth, is giving life and purity to the king, i. e. to himself, a representation which has been explained above.

The largest representation is that of the campaign against the Kheta, already identified as the great aboriginal inhabitants of Canaan, the Hittites. It contains more than 800 figures, the central point being the king's tent.[93] The first view is an attack on a strong hostile city. Both the armies have war chariots. Sometimes the enemy wear a thick moustache[94]; sometimes the heads are shorn, with a long tuft hanging down behind; sometimes they have a profusion of hair. They wear also a long cloak with short sleeves. There are some cavalry among them. Their arms, armour, harness, and chariots are exactly similar to the Egyptian (p. 157.). The name of the city is well known to us from the time of Tuthmōsis III., FORTRESS OF ATSH, and seems to be near a river. Rosellini endeavours to prove that it is not the same name as occurs in the conquests of Menephthah — "Atschen in the land of Amar" — though he admits that the difference in the form is unimportant. But he thinks that in one case the enemy are very like the Remnu, while in the other

92 M. R. lxxxiv. lxxxv. Comp. M. St. iii. B. 110. seq.

93 M. R. lxxxviii.—ciii.

94 M. R. lvii. lviii. lix. ciii. M. St. iii. p. 1. 389., p. 2. 157. 256.

they are different from them. After the fortress is captured, envoys from the Shasu and Kheta (who in the first instance are taken for spies, seized, and tortured) come to sue for peace, which they obtain. There is certainly no positive indication in this long inscription of forty-three lines[95], and on which there is the date of the *fifth year*, *ninth month*, and *ninth day*, as to the precise relation between the country of the Kheta and Naharina (Mesopotamia[96]), which is mentioned in it. But it seems clear that they were neighbouring, indeed adjoining countries (line 18. p. 143. seq.), and that Atsh is described as a southern point in the land of the Kheta. This would agree very well with Asdod, Azôt, in the land of the Philistines. The resemblance, however, is a distant one. Atshn is in the land of Amar — can it mean the Amorites? Edessa has been proposed, but there is no point of correspondence with it. The names of the leaders of the Kheta are for the most part uncertain, those which are in good preservation do not sound like anything historical.

The campaign, therefore, took place at the commencement of his reign, peace was made at the end of the fifth year. The temple seems to have been built much later. On a stele between the last two pilasters on the left, the *thirty-fifth* year is mentioned (p. 161.). There is the same date in a rock inscription not far from this shrine[97], where an Ethiopian prince is represented as the king's secretary and counsellor. But the most remarkable notice is the statement it contains (column 13. Rosellini, p. 181. seq.) that "he brought with him out of all countries builders, as slaves of his supremacy over all foreign lands, and erected houses for the Gods with the sons of the land of Retennu." It is

[95] M. R. Pl. c. ci. cii. Comp. M. St. iii. B. 137. seq.

[96] This country is also mentioned in another picture, p. 129.

[97] M. St. iii. B. i. 186. seq.

well known that Diodorus adduces this circumstance as forming the glory of Sesostris, that he had all his buildings erected by prisoners of war.[98]

In the *smaller temple* the king is said (p. 173. Pl. CXI.) "to have annihilated Pan .... destroyed the Nehesu (Negroes), smote the South, and overturned the North."

III. BUILDINGS AT THEBES AND LUXOR.—THE SO-CALLED MEMNONIUM (RAMESSEUM).—KARNAK.

RAMSES adorned every part of Thebes. In the vast edifice of Amenōphis (Luxor) he erected the court and pylon, which were already connected by the dromos of columns of King Horus with the main building. He erected also two obelisks, one of which is now in the Place de la Concorde at Paris. It appears from the inscription, as Rosellini happily remarked[99], that this was a restoration of the more ancient and gorgeous buildings in honour of Ammon. It is certain, therefore, that these must have been built by the Theban Kings of the Old Empire, who were much better able to construct such splendid temple-palaces than the tributary princes in the Middle Empire. This is true also of the adjoining constructions of the 12th Dynasty. We have an instance of it at Karnak, in a shrine which bears the name of Sesortesen.

On the wall behind the obelisk the king's tent is again represented, who is at war with the Kheta, and a repetition of the scene with the envoys, who are seized and tortured as spies (Pl. CVI. seq.). The date of the day and month in the *fifth year* is likewise the same.

"The great house of Ramses," his principal building, the Ramesseum, is on the western side of Thebes. It is described by the French savans sent by Napoleon, as

[98] Diod. Sic. i. c. 55. seq.

[99] M. St. p. 202. seq. Comp. p. 198.

the Memnonium. Here it was that he erected the largest of all the colossi, the sitting figure of himself, about forty feet high from the seat. Here is also a repetition on the walls of the great expedition to Palestine and Mesopotamia against the Kheta, but with certain peculiarities. Some well preserved names of leaders of the Kheta are also given [100],— Khirupasaru, Magaruma, Tarakanasi.

In all these representations there are various particular traits, such as those described by Diodorus after Hecatæus on the so-called tomb of Osymandyas; the four sons as leaders of four divisions, an attack upon a fortress near which a river is flowing, and, lastly, the lion by the king's side. This renders it therefore certain that the historian obtained his information from the Ramesseum, the site of which, and even its dimensions, correspond exactly with his account. But if Hecatæus described this war as carried on against the rebellious Bactrians, such a statement would seem, from the above inscriptions, to be as fabulous as the name of the king. There is no authority for Champollion's idea that the people here represented are from the north-west of Persia, consequently Bactrians, or Scythian Bactrians. Rosellini, who in the first instance read the Kheta Skheto, and interpreted them as Scythians, rather inclined in his last work to the notion that they were people of Western Asia.[101]

It seems to us to represent nothing but a glorious campaign against Palestine as far as Lebanon. Kanaana (Canaan) is the only certain identification. Those that are uncertain are, Asht, Ashten, a fortress on the water (Asdod?). Remnu cannot be explained as Lebanon. But there are, at all events, still extant, scutcheons of the conqueror at Beyroot, at the foot of Lebanon.

[100] M. St. p. 231. seq. Pl. cix. cx.
[101] M. St. iii. B. 257. seq.

No. 8 on our plan of the PALACE OF KARNAK marks the works of this king. He erected the propylæa in front of the hall of columns, with two vast colossi facing each other, twenty-five high, of red granite, likenesses of himself, and a spacious forecourt. Here are represented many conquered nations.[102] Among "those of the south," the names still legible are Kesh, Arashu, Barabara (Barabra, now in Nubia); among "those of the north," the name which Rosellini read JUININ (Ionians) when speaking of Sethos I. This, however, is decidedly incorrect. The Ionians (UINA) certainly occur in early times, but written as on the Rosetta stone. The people or country is called ÄRHUNA or IHUNA, as our alphabet shows.

On the outer wall, on the left wing of the hall of columns of his father, which he sculptured, there are several inscriptions of Ramses, but sadly mutilated. There are also wars and triumphs depicted. The Retennu are mentioned (p. 263.), Kesh and Arashu (p. 264.), as well as the Kheta and "the fortress of the land of Tesh;" a chief of the land of Arutu; Iriunna; Masi.

There are, on another wall, more than thirty lines containing the treaty made with the KHETA on the 20th of Tobi (the fifth month) of the 21st year of his reign. Rosellini translated it, but with his usual modesty called it an unsuccessful attempt. (p. 269. seq. Pl. CXVI.) From this it appears, that on the day above mentioned, Ramses, after defeating the rebellious Kheta, made a treaty with their chief, Prince KHETA-SIRA (Kheta-Prince[103]), who, with other leaders of the nation, came to him, and that mention is made of the Gods of both

[102] M. St. iii. B. 260., and corresponding plate.

[103] We have remarked in our treatise on the Semitic languages that the Babylonian has a similar construction, at variance with the later Semitism.

nations. Amun-Ra appears as an Egyptian God, Sut and Asterta[104] as Gods of the Kheta, i. e. as stated in the first book, Set and Astarte, consequently a God whose name corresponds with the Egyptian Seth, and a Goddess whom we know as Syrian and Babylonian. In the land of the Kheta, "waters" are also mentioned. (p. 280.) It seems, as Rosellini remarks, as though the likenesses of the Gods were intended to mark the boundaries between the two peoples. For it says at line 27. (p. 280.), "the God Sut of the fortress of . . . Sut of the fortress of the land of Aranita: Sut (Ros. Sutsh) of the fortress of the land of Chisisi;" and the same formula occurs in other mutilated passages.

IV. The Tomb of Ramesses, the Son of Sethos.

The tomb of this conqueror appears, from a number of his scutcheons which are extant there, to be the third to the right of the entrance into the valley at Biban el Moluk. Rosellini, however, did not succeed in clearing away the vast heap of rubbish, and only got a glimpse at the interior in a very hurried and unsatisfactory manner. Lepsius gives no drawing of it in his Monuments. Rosellini found some of the walls wholly without ornament, and it was evidently never completed. I cannot believe, in deference to Hecatæus' description of the tomb of Osymandyas, that he was buried in the Rameseum.

V. The Northern Wall of Defence, and the Canal of the Red Sea.

After Lepsius' researches, there can be no doubt that Ramses restored or completed the walls of defence

[104] Usually in Rosellini, Sutχ, i. e. Sutkh. Perhaps the sieve, or what looks very like it, is only a determinative. The accompanying figure is that of Set. Rosellini twice read it Sut (p. 280. note). Asterta (Astarte) is erroneously read Anterta.

which his father erected or commenced against the inroads of the Palestinian and Arabian shepherds. The canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, at the first turn of it to the east as far as Seba Biar, also bears the name of Ramesses. It is well known that Ramses was the name of one of the two depôts or storehouses in the land of Goshen, which must have been erected by the Israelites.

III.

HISTORICAL RESULTS OF THE CRITICISM OF THE MONUMENTS.

WE have, first of all, not a tittle of authority in the monuments for assuming that Ramesses was called Sesostris, or even had such an appellation as a title of honour. It is on the other hand expressly stated of Sethos, his father, that, after Osiris, he was the greatest benefactor Egypt ever had. Ramses is the son of Sethos, and nothing else. He is the heir of his conquests and armies. But not only were his expeditions confined exclusively within the same circle as those of Sethos, but his later campaigns were to the northern frontiers of Egypt against the Hittites, who were then powerful in Southern Palestine. Canaan, within its ancient boundaries, which included Phœnicia, is the principal theatre of them. Mesopotamia (Naharina), which would seem to have been the limit of the conquests of Sethos, or extreme point of his expeditions, does not once occur in the extant monuments of Ramses. The extreme southern point reached was Ethiopia (Kush); but even there much fewer names of subjected tribes occur than in the case of Sethos.

This can hardly be accidental, inasmuch as we possess more monuments of Ramses than of any other king. How different was the state of things under Tuthmō-

sis III.! Babel and Nineveh were conquered, and Mesopotamia was tributary long after his reign.

The first treaty of peace of which we have an account was made in the fifth year of his reign, the last in the twenty-first. Now if we consider that his reign lasted 66 years, we may fairly conclude that the campaign which ended in his fifth year was the first the young king ever made. Again, how could he have undertaken distant expeditions without being sure of his immediate northern frontier? His conquests must, at all events, have been lost, as he had a powerful enemy to combat not far from Pelusium.

The greatness of this Pharaoh then must depend, if at all, upon his edifices. These certainly are marvellous. It cannot be accidental that we possess more monuments of his than of any Pharaoh, we might say almost as many as of all the other Pharaohs of the New Empire down to Sheshonk put together. Indeed, the remarkable inscription at Ibsambul alluded to above expressly says, and it is one of the main features in the Sesostris-Sethōsis legend of the Alexandrians, that his edifices were erected by prisoners whom he carried off from the enemies' countries.

It is obvious that a reign of 66 years, the last campaign of which, as far as is known to us, ended in the twenty-first, supplied the despot of a wealthy land who had a taste for building, the heir of an established power and vast treasures, who could employ at one time thousands of prisoners upon it, with ample means for accomplishing something far beyond the ordinary standard.

But these innumerable constructions exhausted the empire to such an extent, that his son and heir was obliged to flee the country, and from this time forth the strength of the New Empire was essentially broken down, in spite of the temporary success of his Ramesside successors.

The most striking proof, however, of the pitiable condition of the close of his reign is his unfinished tomb. His son and subjects cannot have had much respect for his memory, as they did not adorn or complete his sepulchre, the especial house of an Egyptian, which he had probably himself partially erected. No trace whatever exists of any ceremony having been appointed in his honour; no trace of his being distinguished by any name to commemorate his exploits; though he certainly makes his God Sokari, in Ibsambul, promise him "the whole world shall be subject to thee, and I will cause them to love thee."[105] This, Rosellini, who is a very enthusiastic admirer of him, thinks a proof of his having been a mild ruler.[106] But it is difficult to conceive that one should have been beloved by his enemies and slaves, to whom his own son and subjects refused even the last honours, or paid them in a singularly niggard manner. It is likewise false sentimentality to give him credit for particular lenity, because he exacted compulsory service from strangers and prisoners in erecting his buildings. This is no proof at all that his own faithful subjects were better off under the burthen of such extravagant and costly expenditure during the period of five and forty years. The facts, indeed, are all the other way. If that feature in the Sesostris-Ramesses period which was connected with this panegyric belongs to this Pharaoh, namely, that on such occasions he compelled the princes and chief personages among his captives to drag his chariot, it is, as a personal trait, simply a proof of a low haughty disposition, of a love of display, if not of cruelty.

Not the slightest doubt, however, can be entertained as to his harsh and cruel disposition, by any one who feels bound to come to the conclusion that Ramses II.,

[105] See inscriptions in Rosellini, l. 20. p. 164.
[106] Page 270.

the son of Sethos, and no other, is the Pharaoh who drove the Israelites to desperation by his inhuman oppression. We will only so far anticipate here the sequel of proof, by stating a fact first established by Lepsius, that Menephthah, his son, is the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses effected the glorious Exodus. Ramses II., therefore, the hero of Egyptologers, the false Sesostris, the son so celebrated at the expense of the father, is the hard-hearted Pharaoh with whose overthrow the Book of Exodus commences. The oppression of the Israelites doubtless begun under Tuthmōsis III., but the opening remark (Exod. i. 11.), "they set over them task-masters," &c., clearly referred to Ramses II. The reign of the first Ramses was short. Here again it is obvious that the immediate predecessor of the Pharaoh of the Exodus is spoken of (comp. ii. 23.). In all probability, then, we must also place to the account of Ramses the inhuman order to destroy all the Israelitish children (i. 22.), for we can hardly take literally the statement as to the age of Moses at the Exodus (twice over, forty years). Forty years is the mode of expressing a generation, from thirty to thirty-three years.

All the facts tend, therefore, to give us the same picture of an unbridled despot, who took advantage of a reign of almost unparalleled length, and of the acquisitions of his father and ancestors, in order to torment his own subjects and strangers to the utmost of his power, and to employ them as instruments of his passion for war and building. On the vast amount of tribute levied by him, the monuments shown and explained by the priests to Germanicus might naturally expatiate. We possess a precisely similar list of the reign of Tuthmōsis III. He may even have overrun Asia Minor and Mesopotamia with fire and sword, if he has not had the credit of the exploits of Sethōsis. Any one who has faith enough in the truthfulness of the priests may also come to the conclusion that in those inscrip-

tions, and not merely in the poetical accounts (of which there is an instance in the Papyrus Sallier) which doubtless were regarded as an explanation of them, allusion is really made to the Assyro-Babylonian kingdom, which then ruled over Media and Bactria, and was compelled to surrender Mesopotamia to him (or his father).

Now this king is called Ramses, and not Sesostris. Manetho himself charged the Greeks, from Herodotus downwards, with having made a great blunder about Sesostris. Eratosthenes, his critic, agrees with him in this respect as completely as do the monuments. We must add a word of correction as to the second confusion of persons and dates, referring our readers generally to the criticism we have offered above in the 12th Dynasty upon the real Sesostris tradition.

If we turn back from what we actually know about Ramses and the Ramessides to the true legend of Sesostris, which refers to two great rulers of the 3rd and 12th Dynasties, the difference between them, and their entire diversity, will at once be apparent.

According to the unequivocal testimony of Eratosthenes preserved by Strabo, Sesostris, the conqueror, was *the first* who subdued Ethiopia, and advanced along the Red Sea beyond Babelmandeb, leaving behind him columns and stelæ known by his name. The mention of Ethiopia is sufficient to show the impossibility of Ramses being intended. Tuthmōsis III., as we have seen, was master of the country, not to speak of indications of the Sesortosidæ having possessed it.

But there is not the slightest hint about the expedition to the Indian Ocean, or Babelmandeb at all events, either on the monuments or in the pompous accounts given by the priests of Thebes to the Roman general. According to the Alexandrian version, which we have from Diodorus, this campaign, moreover, was the first. We have seen also that the chronology of the monuments

allows no time for it. The real Ramses concluded in the fifth year of his reign, when he was in all probability barely twenty years old, a peace with his powerful enemies, the Hittites of Southern Palestine.

The account of the conquests of Ramses in Tacitus again is silent about the most striking and most celebrated expedition of Sesostris—the one to Europe. Neither Thrace nor any other European country is mentioned.

All the distinguishing characteristics, therefore, of the Sesostris-legend in Manetho and Eratosthenes are here wanting; for expeditions to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates are nothing extraordinary in the history of Egypt.

The whole may therefore be summed up in the following sentences:

Firstly: There is nothing in common between the Sesostris and Ramesside histories. Sesostris belongs to the Old Empire, Ramses to the New.

Secondly: Sesostris is Sesortōsis; and Egyptian tradition is acquainted with two glorious rulers of the name, the great lawgiver of the 3rd, and the conqueror and constructor of vast edifices in the 12th Dynasty.

Thirdly: The Sesortōsis of the 12th enjoyed divine honours in the time of the Tuthmōses, and was at a very early period considered by the people as almost equal to Osiris.

Fourthly: The same passage was applied by the priests, word for word, to Sethos, "next after Osiris." Manetho says that he conquered Cyprus (Kittim), Palestine, and Syria.

Fifthly: Ramesses II., his son, inherited the conquests and riches of his father, and completed his edifices. His history was confounded with that of his father.

Sixthly: Herodotus, and even later writers, did not know how to distinguish between the historical and the mythical, the old and the new elements. Sesostris-Sesortōsis and Sethōsis-Ramesses were jumbled together.

Seventhly: The statements in Manetho are authentic and decisive in the Old Empire as well as in the New. What he said about the campaigns and conquests of Sethos has come down to us; about Ramesses, nothing. We have no reason to believe that the independent high priest, who protested against Darius placing his own statue before that of "Sesostris," ever thought of the Ramessides, although the poetry and popular legends of the New Empire may at an early period have caused a confusion in the history.

Eighthly: The stelæ of Sesostris in Asia Minor, attributed by Hecatæus to Memnon, are probably not even Egyptian.

Ninthly: Ramesses was a ruler fond of display, and cruel, who exhausted his kingdom, and left his tomb unfinished.

Of the condition in which he left his kingdom, the monuments, traditions, and events of world-historical importance furnish us the picture in all its revolting deformity.

SECTION V.

THE DECLINE OF THE HOUSE OF RAMESSES. — 25 YEARS: THREE REIGNS.

(*Lepsius, Hist. Mon.* vol. vii. Pl. 173—206.)

First Reign (Fourth of the Dynasty).

Menōphthes (Amenôphat, Menōphthes, Me-en-pteh Ba-en-Ra Meri-en-Amn), Son of the Great Ramesses. — 20 Years. (Plate VIII. 4_2.)

Second Reign.

Sethōs II. (Ra Seser Kheper. u Meri Amen. Seti Meri-en-pteh), Son of Menōphthes.—5 Years. (Plate IX. 1_2.[107])

Third Reign.

Phuōris (Nilus) (Set-nekht) Merer-Rā Ra-Seser-Shau. — 7 Years.

A.

ADJUSTMENT OF THE MONUMENTS WITH MANETHO'S STATEMENT ABOUT THE CONFUSION OF THIRTEEN YEARS' DURATION.—FLIGHT AND RETURN OF MENŌPHTHES, AND OF HIS SON, AFTERWARDS SETHOS II.

We have given in the Third Book a translation of the remarkable passage in Manetho's historical work (or an extract from it) in Josephus, where it is stated that the son of the Great Ramesses, Amenōphis (Menōphtis), succumbed to a revolt of the lepers who were grievously oppressed by him, under Osarsiph (or Osarōph) Moses and their allies who were called in from Palestine, and how he fled to Ethiopia with his son, then five years old, and how the latter recovered his kingdom at the end of thirteen years, by force of arms, and reigned as Sethos II.

[107] The number 5 opposite to Siphtah belongs here (viii. 4.)

We have, in agreement with Lepsius, pointed out how the Menephthah and Seti II. of the monuments correspond respectively with this Amenōphis (Menōphthes) and this Sethos. We find twenty years assigned to the former in the Lists, or, more properly, nineteen years and six months, which accords exactly with the account of the thirteen years' flight. For, if even the revolt broke out at an early period, the whole narrative implies that several years of persecution, rebellion, and revolt preceded the flight of the king. If we add these years to the thirteen of the flight, we shall approach in the most natural way to the date of nineteen or twenty years. The narrative also about the son and successor tallies well with it. Being five years old at the time of his father's flight, as a prince of eighteen he is in a condition to reconquer the kingdom for his father and himself.

Do the monuments furnish us any further confirmation of it? It is clear that, if the above account be correct, there will be no extant buildings of that reign of twenty years, nor shall we find any records of conquests and victories in those representations and inscriptions. It is true that this is merely a negative proof. It must, however, be admitted that if in the countless mass of buildings, sculptures, and other monuments, which extend down to the sixty-second year of Ramses, a sudden gap is found — such silence would be eloquent testimony in behalf of some great calamity.

Now such is precisely the case. The only year of Menephthah mentioned on the monuments is the second, and Rosellini himself admits that, strictly speaking, no historical monuments of his exist at all. There is a stele at Silsilis, cut in the rock, which bears his name, but it is one of his sons who dedicates it. The third of the small rock-temples there met with, it is true, was constructed by Menephthah, but in the first year of his reign. (p. 301.) The subjects of the inscriptions are

merely religious. There is no allusion to exploits or victories, no term conveying either the idea of glory or promise. An inscription at Silsilis alludes to a building being commenced, for which a quarry was opened, where his second regnal year is mentioned. In all the rest of Egypt there is no trace of him, except his scutcheons, which he placed on the buildings of his father at Thebes (as the remains which have come to Europe testify), and then his tomb in Biban el Moluk.[108] But even this was not finished either by him or his son. The introductory scene only is represented, which, according to custom, the king caused to be executed after his accession, in preparation for "the eternal house."

This connexion between his monuments and those of his father is unquestionably so striking, that we can scarcely explain it, except by the above historical representation.

But the monuments also give a positive corroboration of the fall of the empire, under the son of the great Ramesses. In the Lists Menephthah[109] is succeeded by an Ammenemes, whom, in reference to the succession of the kings, it was difficult to identify on the monuments. Lepsius has discovered that in his reign there were two rival sovereigns. One was named Amen-Messu (Pl. VIII. 1.), who is clearly this king in the Lists; the other, Si-ptah (son of Ptah). The tomb of the second of these, in Biban el Moluk, exhibits him and his wife, Taseser, in possession of royal honours. He is also found in inscriptions at Silsilis. In one of them a prayer is offered that their children may inherit the throne — a phraseology, as Rosellini rightly remarks, which is met with nowhere else in respect to the Pharaohs[110], but which can easily be explained here by

[108] M. R. cxviii. M. St. 306. seq.

[109] See above, Sect. II. p. 108.

[110] M. St. 328. seq.

the circumstances. His royal scutcheon is also found on the ruins of the palace at Gurnah. In that tomb Ammon gives him the highest power, in presence of his great ancestress Aahmes-Nefruari, Seti I., and the Great Ramesses.

There is no doubt that he or his wife, or both of them, were of royal race, and they endeavoured to hold the sovereignty of the Pharaohs at Thebes as rivals during that season of misfortune. There are no dates of years either of them or the other rival sovereigns.

We are enabled then, by the science of hieroglyphics, not only to explain, but also to complete, the historical tradition of Manetho, which Josephus, owing to the bitter controversy between the Alexandrian Hellenists and the execrated Jews, has preserved to us, and with which it has hitherto been difficult to deal. The cowardly flight of Menephthah to Ethiopia was an indication of the dissolution of the empire. Egyptian princes, probably offsets of the royal house, endeavoured to retain their power in the Thebaid.

SECOND REIGN: SETHOS II., THE SON OF MENOPHTHES: 5 YEARS. (Plate IX. 1_2.)

We can hardly venture to hope to learn much from the monuments about the short reign of Sethos II. Rosellini found a brief inscription of his with the second year of his reign, on a door-post of the rock-temple at Silsilis. But he erected buildings at Thebes. He it was who adorned the shafts of the columns of the great connecting hall of King Horus, at Luxor, with his scutcheons, by way of architectonic finishing. He erected a small building in the fore court, which can still be traced on the ground-plan (9). One of the inner rooms is unfinished (p. 310.). Rosellini also found his scutcheon on the base of the Ramses colossus at Karnak. In the open space, where the obelisks of the

first Tuthmōsis and of Misphra stood, he also found on a door-post, with a fragment of a wall, an inscription of Sethos II., representing him as its constructor, with the title of the "Tamer of the Nine Bows," consequently the Libyans. He discovered also, farther on to the right of the granite shrine, offerings and invocations of his, as well as buildings erected by him. The bases of several of the colossal sphinxes, in the great dromos of Horus, likewise bear his name.

Probably the beautiful colossal statue of him, in the Turin Museum, was found among the ruins.

His tomb at Biban el Moluk is adorned in many places with his sculptures and pictures, but they were, evidently, never completed. On the lid of the sarcophagus of red granite, in the shape of a mummy-case, is his likeness, but it also was only commenced.

This circumstance is most naturally explained by the subsequent history of his race and realm.

THIRD REIGN: PHUŌRIS (NILUS) (SET-NEKT) MERER-RA RA-SESER-SHAU: 7 YEARS.

WILKINSON'S hypothesis, that he was the father of Ramesses III. has not been confirmed. There is therefore no reason for not assigning him a place, as the Lists do, in this dynasty. We know that the prayer of Si-ptah, which contains the dedication, was not heard. His children did not occupy the throne of their maternal grandsire. The male line, too, carried on directly by Menephthah, became extinct with his son. After the death of Seti II. a new name appears as his successor. According to the scutcheons, it reads MERR-RA. It is, however, probable that the name, as pronounced, is contained in SET-NEKHT (the strong Set). Neither of them accords with the Thuoris of the Lists, whom we call PHUŌRIS = Nile. The reign of this Pharaoh must have been entered in the Egyptian annals as a

remarkable event. The learned Dicæarchus, as we have seen above[111], computed 2500 years from the reign of the old Sesostris to that of King Nilus, and from thence 436 years to the first Olympiad. This would bring Nilus to the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th Dynasty, to 1212 B.C., which is only 80 years too late. This mode of computation shows that his reign was an epoch to the Greeks. According to the Alexandrian calculators of synchronisms, he was contemporary with the Trojan war. Such a synchronism as this, Manetho, who was acquainted with and paid attention to Greek traditions, could not pass over in silence. The notice in the Lists that in his time Ilion was taken, is assuredly therefore derived from Manetho; but the assumption itself is based upon the calculation of Dicæarchus or some other Greeks, and we must always bear in mind that the Trojan synchronisms sometimes mean the beginning of the war.

Certain inscriptions containing his name, at Biban el Moluk, indicate the remains of buildings of this enigmatical king. He appropriated to himself the tomb of Si-ptah and Taseser, so much so indeed, that, with the exception of the scutcheons in the dedicatory representations at the entrance, he caused all the others belonging to that royal couple to be erased and his own name substituted.

[111] Book I. 111. Comp. Book II. 93. seqq., and the Appendix of Authorities, p. 676. seqq.

B.

HISTORICAL CRITICISM OF MANETHO'S ACCOUNT OF THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES IN THE TIME OF MENEPHTHAH.

After the death of the Great Ramses, the royal house and kingdom of Egypt fell into decay still more fatally than was the case after the death of Amenōphis III. Manetho recounted, as we have seen above, that the reign of the weak, superstitious, and unwarlike son of Ramesses produced a politico-religious outbreak among the people, who were inhumanly oppressed and persecuted, the consequence of which was an overwhelming inroad of the Palestinian hordes. In order to clear the country of the unclean persons, it is stated that he collected together all the lepers and incapable persons (i. e. those who were disabled by the leprosy) in the quarries on the edge of the Arabian desert, in Lower Egypt. There he imposed upon them (doubtless as an act of sacerdotal piety, and well-pleasing to God) severe tasks and privations, and cut them off from all communication with the rest of the nation. Influenced by conscience or some conscientious adviser, he resolved however, after a time, to mitigate in some degree their hard lot. With this view, he assigned them as a residence [112] the city of Avaris, which had been deserted since the evacuation of the Shepherds in the time of Tuthmōsis III., the old city of the enemies of God, on the frontiers of Palestine. The outcasts, among whom were some priests (perhaps some of the priestly caste

[112] Literally "for quarters and shelter" (καράλυσιν καὶ στέγην), the former word was rendered in the German edition of the first volume "labour," to which Dr. Fruin has properly taken exception, though he has unnecessarily attacked it as a mistranslation, it being manifestly nonsense.

who had gone over to the Israelitish religion, certainly worshippers of Seth), now made preparations for an outbreak.

A priest (Osarōph, according to Fruin's probable emendation, "approved by Osiris") of Heliopolis founded a religious brotherhood or hetæry, based upon the abolition of animal worship, and consequently in direct hostility to the existing system of the popular and state religion of Egypt. Aware of the persecution which awaited them, they boldly undertook to restore the fortifications of the vast city. But not feeling sufficiently secure even with that, they called in to their assistance the same Shepherds whom Tuthmōsis had expelled, and seized the opportunity of invading the kingdom of Egypt. These Palestinians were a numerous horde, and they overran the land of Egypt from that critical point. Menephthah collected a large army and went out against them. But when the attack was about to take place his courage failed him. He thought, as stated in the Egyptian accounts transmitted by Manetho, that he was entering into contest with the Deities, and would have them opposed to him, and so retreated upon Memphis in order to secure the sacred animals and images of his Gods. Having done this, he abandoned the city and the kingdom, and fled with his wife and heir, five years of age (afterwards Sethos II.), the sacred animals, priests, and images of the Gods, to the king of Ethiopia, who was his friend. This son is said to have had also the name of Ramesses, after his grandfather, which is very possible, if that means as heir to the throne; otherwise it is a confusion with Sethos I. We are only acquainted with his royal scutcheons.

The king of Ethiopia placed his kingdom at the disposal of his guest and friend, and stationed an Ethiopian army on the frontier, which, in conjunction with the Egyptian army, was intended to protect his own country. The Palestinians, however, desolated Egypt,

and exercised every kind of cruelty which religious hatred and love of plunder could suggest.

This state of things lasted thirteen years, at the expiration of which Menephthah returned, and his son (afterwards Sethos II.) drove the enemy out of the country.

Such is the historical tradition of the Egyptians, in which nothing but some minor details are omitted as having nothing to do with the question, or which are obviously misconceptions of foreign history. It is mentioned, for instance, that a certain priest who had a reputation for wisdom and piety gave the king the first unfortunate advice, and then, foreseeing the impending catastrophe, destroyed himself, after he had stated in writing with prophetic spirit the duration of the calamity. This may be strictly historical or not. It makes no difference as to the facts of the revolt at Avaris, the inroad of the descendants of the Shepherds, and the absence of the king for thirteen years.

Manetho may have obtained his information about the foresight and prophecy of the priest from the annals, or from songs and popular legends. What Josephus quotes and refutes as being avowedly recorded by Manetho without good authority, is the fact of this Osarōph being Moses, the founder of the Jewish religion. Certainly we can prove that the Palestinians, whom Osarōph called to his assistance, cannot have been Solymites, i. e. people of Jerusalem. We know that Jerusalem was taken by David from the Jebusites, and made a Jewish city. But is that any reason for disputing that the Shepherds who were called to their assistance came from the neighbouring Palestine? Or is it any reason for doubting that they belonged to the race of warlike Shepherd tribes who so long ruled over Egypt, the country in which they first became a nation and founded a kingdom? We think it, at all events, no ground for disputing the historical character of the facts contained in that statement. This

would be contrary to the principles of true criticism, which distinguishes between what an Egyptian historian reports about his own people, and what he says about foreigners and their history.

C.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN THE BIBLICAL AND EGYPTIAN ACCOUNTS OF THE EXODUS: THE 215 YEARS OF THE BONDAGE AND THE ERA OF MENOPHTHAH.

ANY one who agrees with us in believing the actual truth of the Biblical narrative of the Exodus, the best proof of which is the insignificance of the doubts which are thrown out against it, and every one who is at the same time convinced of the historical nature of the Egyptian traditions in this period, will find the statement of Manetho just submitted to critical examination deserving of more serious attention than Josephus has given to it in his controversial writing.

It is undeniable, either that it is the Egyptian view of the Exodus, or else that the Egyptian records said nothing at all about it. It requires no further proof that the narrative of the evacuation of the Shepherds has nothing whatever to do with the Exodus of the Israelites. But how can we reconcile, on the one side with the truth of the Bible narrative, on the other with the historical character of the Egyptian records, the fact that so important and notorious an event should be altogether omitted in the Egyptian annals and registers? The Chinese version of the attack of the English will be very different from the European one: but there is a history of it now, and there will be a further and perhaps a more unfettered one hereafter, should the present imperial family become extinct or be dethroned. We must admit, therefore, that any one who does not refer

this statement of Manetho's to the Exodus is at issue with the criticism both of the Egyptian and Jewish history, and will find himself involved in inextricable difficulties.

We must further recollect that we have hitherto met with no epoch at which the Exodus could have taken place consistently with Egyptian chronology. It was only after the evacuation of the Shepherds in the time of Tuthmōsis III., that the Pharaohs could have ventured to oppress and ill-use the Jews. The Biblical accounts are so indefinitely worded, indeed, that it is impossible to say positively or to deny that the Jewish tradition gave the length of the real *bondage* in Egypt. We must, however, draw a marked distinction between their sojourn there and the bondage. The latter period cannot have been very short, if, at the birth of Moses (about the beginning of the reign of Ramses), the oppression had already arrived at such a pitch that he was himself in danger of falling a victim to the systematic extermination of his race. When it is said, "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt which knew not Joseph," it is clear that this may just as well mean the third Tuthmōsis as Ramesses I. Whether the oppression of the Tuthmōses was aggravated by the religious fanaticism of Horus, the prototype of Menephthah, or was relaxed when the power of the Pharaohs was on the decline in that period of decay, and afterwards revived when the first Ramesses restored order into the state, Sethos I. and his son Ramesses were the real tormentors of the Jews. It required only the religious fanaticism of Menephthah to drive them to desperation. It is, indeed, highly probable that during that long period the Israelites spread throughout the whole country for trading purposes, as they were wont to do. Nor is there any thing at variance with the assumption that the well-known representation at Thebes of the Orientals making and carrying bricks with Egyptian

task-masters and drivers, in the time of Tuthmōsis III., is intended for the Jews. In like manner there may be some historical foundation for the statement of Manetho and several Alexandrian Greeks, that the Egyptians detested them as much on account of the leprosy and itch, as of their contempt for the religion and customs of the country. The account in Exodus lays no claim to historical completeness. Every thing in it has a bearing but on one single point — that of showing how God delivered his chosen people with a mighty hand.

There is, however, another question which we must ask. How was it possible that the Exodus and the unmistakable preparation that was made for it, especially the interview between Moses and Aaron and the Midianitish chief, the father-in-law of the former, in the very heart of the Peninsula of Sinai, could have been accomplished while the Pharaohs held possession of it? We have seen that from the time of Tuthmōsis II. down to that of Amenōphis III., and even of Ramesses the Great, the mines of the Copper-land were worked by the Pharaohs there, in the immediate vicinity of Sinai. Nothing is said about any affray with the Egyptian garrison, any more than there is of their flight. Instead of this, Moses finds a friend and ally in the chief, the Kenite of Midian, who is mentioned above.

Again; it is now authentically ascertained that the Great Ramesses subjugated and overran the whole of Palestine. Extant monuments mention the provinces and the very races and population of Palestine. Not a word is said, however, about the Israelites, only of the Hittites and other ancient tribes whom the Israelites expelled when they entered the country, or conquered and exterminated. No trace, again, of Ramses, or the Egyptians generally, is found in the Book of Judges Had the Exodus of the Israelites, as is usually supposed, taken place 150 years before that conqueror, the silence of those records which enumerate the various tribes

which were reduced to the payment of tribute and to bondage, as well as its duration, would at all events be very remarkable, and hardly capable of explanation.

Everything, on the other hand, accords, on the supposition that Ramesses was the actual tormentor of the Israelites, and Menephthah the Pharaoh of the Exodus: the former all-powerful and remorselessly severe; the latter fanatical and stiffnecked, but weak and powerless. On a closer examination, indeed, of Manetho's account, the difficulty vanishes as regards his silence about their withdrawing to the Peninsula of Sinai. It is very remarkable that the unclean persons, i.e. the Jews and their adherents in the country, are entirely unnoticed in that narrative. What became of them the Egyptian record does not state. The Solymites, it says, returned to their home when they were driven out of Egypt at the end of thirteen years. We will not enter into the question here as to who those Solymites were, as they could not possibly come from Jerusalem. We would only call attention to the fact, that the Exodus of the Jews is not referred to in the retreat of the Solymites. Now as they did not stay in Egypt, they must have withdrawn by another route, and consequently the one with which we are so well acquainted. It would really appear, from the sketch of his remarks given by Josephus (c. Ap. 34.), that Lysimachus of Alexandria did know something about the road through the desert and the Peninsula of Sinai from Egyptian sources. There is but one thing about it which makes it look a little suspicious, the mention of King Bokhoris. But Apion himself also mentions him in connexion with the Exodus. What could have induced Lysimachus or his authority to connect the well-known king of that name, who lived about the beginning of the Olympiads, with that event? We must, therefore, look for some other name. Now, what is the name (in the annals or in popular use) by which our Menephthah is desig-

nated? His throne-scutcheon reads, BA-N-RA or BA-N-HER. It is just as easy to make Bokhoris out of this as PHU-KHOR out of PEHER in the 21st Dynasty. It is now impossible to deny that there were such distinctive names connected with the throne-scutcheons.[113] The Egyptian annals, then, did record the journey through the desert of Sinai, and Manetho's statement is not at variance with it.

But let us first of all proceed to a closer examination of the Biblical narrative itself.

Lepsius has very properly called attention to the fact, that one of the store-houses which the Israelites were compelled by Pharaoh to build on the frontier of their country is called RAMESSES. It consequently bears a royal name, which appears for the first time in Egyptian history as that of the grandfather of the Great Ramesses. It is certain, however, that this first Ramesses, in his short and stormy reign, neither could have erected great edifices, nor carried on so ruthless a war of extermination against a powerful race living close upon their borders. Lepsius has made the further remark, that the only explanation of the journey of the Israelites is the construction of the canal to the Red Sea. As this journey is described, they went along the eastern bank of it, and thus were provided with water for man and beast. Baal Zephon (i. e. the Bal (Lord) of the north, Typhon) is the Heroonpolis of later times, i.e. the City of HERON[114], as Set (Typhon) is translated in the obelisk of the Serapeum. That city, placed at the extremity of the old canal which fell into the Red Sea, has been well described by Strabo as situated in its innermost bay.

[113] I have the satisfaction of learning at this moment, from Mr. Birch, that Mariette has found this name as Bek-en-ran-f, which is a direct confirmation of my assertion. (1858.)

[114] Heron I consider UER-UÔN, the Great of the Opening, Revelation: a title then of Typhon, as it afterwards was of Osiris.

Hence, according to the Biblical account, the period of Bondage would be as follows:

1. The first period of Bondage, from the reign of Tuthmōsis III. after the withdrawal of the Shepherds, to that of Ramesses I. and Seti I. If we assume the middle of the single reign of Tuthmōsis III., which lasted twenty-six years, to be the starting-point, we have a term of 143 years, namely:

Tuthmōsis III.	(half his reign)	13 years.
Amenōphis II.	- - -	9
Tuthmōsis IV.	- - -	31
Amenōphis III.	- - -	37
Horus -	- - -	32
Ramesses I. -	- - -	12
Seti I. -	- - -	9
	Sum total -	143 years.

The Israelites are oppressed systematically, and treated as dangerous foreigners.

2. The period when their oppression was aggravated in answer to their entreaty to be relieved from their burdens: the reign of Ramesses II: 66 years.

3. The first five or six years of Menephthah: the period when preparation was being made for the revolt and Exodus, the negotiations, and finally the plagues, the last of which was pestilence, a plague of which the Egyptians also evidently retained the recollection. Several of the authorities of Tacitus (Hist. v. 2.) stated that the Exodus took place in consequence of a contagious sickness, by which probably is meant a virulent leprosy, or the plague of boils, which resembled it. As to the statement about the destruction of the first-born, I believe that divine judgment was in part executed by the Solymites, who, according to the annals, were

called in by the Israelites, and committed great cruelties in the land. The name is not strictly historical, as there cannot have been Solymites before Jerusalem took the place of Jebus. But that name was in Manetho's time current as a designation of the inhabitants of Judea or Palestine. We are, therefore, entitled to assume that the Egyptian annals spoke of Palestinian tribes as the invaders. It is not impossible that this invasion was preconcerted by Moses, perhaps through the instrumentality of the friendly Midianites in the Peninsula of Sinai, with one of whose leading men and chiefs he was so intimately connected. The whole scheme of deliverance had most probably been discussed with him. They were then masters of one portion of this Peninsula, and we find them in the time of Joshua in Southern Canaan. On the journey thither they joined the Israelites, only a part of them continuing to be dwellers in tents. Any one conversant with the gradual formation and practical aim of the Books of Moses, (of the former fact every critic is aware,) will not be surprised that Scripture makes no mention of that invasion, and he will not on that account throw any doubt upon its historical character. The object of the Bible narrative is to give prominence to the national deliverance, as it was impressed upon the memory of the people, and kept alive in their religious worship and customs.

The Exodus must have taken place in the first five or six years of Menephthah. For he was thirteen years out of the country, and a conflict ensued upon his return. All this occurred in a reign of twenty years, at most.

Both the Egyptian and Jewish accounts imply that the Exodus was preceded by a period of armed, if only of passive, resistance.

On the other hand, Menephthah, according to the Egyptian explanation, cannot well have fled before the Palestinians to Ethiopia much earlier or later than the seventh year of his reign of nineteen years. For he returned at the end of thirteen years with his son, who had grown up in the meantime. This consequently limits the date of the Exodus to the time between the second and sixth years of his reign.

Adding, therefore, together the three periods of Bondage, we have

For the first -	-	143 years.
„ second	-	66
„ third -	-	6
Total	-	215 years.

Thus, by a method of research wholly independent of all Jewish tradition, we arrive at the precise date mentioned as the period of Bondage, and which, when dealing with the question in the First Book, we came to the conclusion was better warranted than any other as the date of the sojourn in Egypt. It is true we cannot point out the ordinance by which Tuthmōsis III. deprived the Israelites of their liberty about the middle of the term of his single sovereignty. But we know that, only a few years before he assumed the reins of government alone, his sister and sister-in-law, after a fruitless siege, induced the Shepherds to evacuate. Consequently our calculation cannot be wrong above twenty years at most. We adhere, therefore, to that date, and shall show hereafter, in discussing the Jewish synchronisms, that the 215 years' duration of the Bondage forms the nucleus of the other Biblical calculations and data. There also we shall have a satisfactory answer to give to a question which our readers may naturally ask: What becomes of the chronology between Moses and Solomon? What are we to do with the

Bible dates of 440, 480, 593 years? The difficulties encountered in the First Book as to each of the three Biblical dates have proved to us that, if the Jewish chronology between Solomon and Moses can be restored at all, it can only be done by confronting it with the Egyptian history.

We have already stated in the Third Book, in the preliminary survey of the synchronisms down to the beginning of the 22nd Dynasty[115], and it has been farther carried out in the present one, that the beginning of the last Canicular cycle of 1460 years fell within the single reign of Menephthah in this dynasty, and consequently that his twenty years' reign must include the year 1322 B.C.

This assumption is based upon one of the simplest textual emendations, and it is confirmed by all the facts. Hitherto the era of the year 1322 has been called the era of MENOPHRES (ΜΕΝΟΦΡΗΣ). Now, there never was such a king; but there was a King Menophthes (ΜΕΝΟΦΘΗΣ), whose reign will be found to coincide exactly with this epoch, if a synchronistic calculation be made, beginning with the lowest point, combined with a critical examination of the Lists.

[115] Book III. p. 579. Comp. Appendix of Authorities.

SECTION VI.

THE LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE UNDER THE SECOND AND LAST HOUSE OF THE RAMESSIDES AND DURING THE REIGN OF THE TANITE FAMILY OF THE PISHAM (XX. AND XXI. DYNASTIES), AND THE RESTORATION BY SHESHONK, THE FOUNDER OF THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY: OR, THE SYNCHRONISM OF THE ASSYRIAN SUPREMACY.

INTRODUCTION.

MODE OF TREATING THIS PERIOD.

The whole epoch down to Sheshonk is one of the most obscure both in the Lists and monuments. The twelve reigns of the 20th Dynasty are entered without the names of the kings; and while that of the second king would appear from the monuments to be one of the most glorious, immediately after it there is complete silence as to further conquests. There is a manifest decline in the prosperity of the nation generally, and the erection of public buildings and monuments becomes constantly of rarer occurrence. Under the following dynasty, the 21st, there are, however, evident symptoms that the decline of the state is progressing. The royal power appears restricted to the privileges of the high priests, or curtailed by sacerdotal pretensions.

Historical criticism, however, must not shrink from such difficulties. We have already given a satisfactory explanation of the omission of the names of the kings in extracts from the Lists of the 20th Dynasty, by making the proper combination of the Lists with the monumental names. The obscurity as to the causes of the

sudden and continuous decline of the empire is removed, however, by the light thrown on the history of the thirteenth century B.C. by the Assyrian synchronisms. The want of monuments, lastly, is supplied by the application of a considerable portion of Greek tradition, which, after the restoration of an authentic chronology of Egypt, could no longer have a place in the history of that country, and appeared to be totally lost.

Our method of treating this period will, therefore, be as follows. We shall first deal with each of the two dynasties according to the monuments. We shall then throw some light on those portions of the narratives of Herodotus and Diodorus, and the Greco-Roman tradition generally, which have reference to this part of the subject. We shall, in the last place, substantiate from an Egyptian point of view the identity of the founder of the 22nd Dynasty with the conqueror who captured and burnt Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon.

The references as to the corresponding synchronisms in Assyrian and Jewish history will be given in the Third Part of this Book.

A.

THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTIES ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.

I.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.—THE TWELVE RAMESSIDES.

THE explanation of the omission in Manetho's Lists of the names of the twelve kings of this dynasty is the more natural, as, after eliminating from it Set-nekt, who belonged to the previous dynasty, we find that they were all called Ramesses. Since the publication of

Lepsius' Monuments, and Mariette's discoveries of the Apis-tombs, no further doubt can be entertained that we possess the entire number of twelve Ramesside Kings, which I was the first to restore to this dynasty.

I. Ramses III.

The founder of the Second House of Ramessides was either a distant relative of the old stock or laid claim to the throne in right of his wife. Like almost all founders of Egyptian dynasties he exhibited at the commencement great courage and skill. He disappears, however, almost without leaving a trace behind him, after having erected splendid buildings, and with him the glory of the dynasty was extinguished.

According to his monuments the wars and conquests of his earlier period not only are not of inferior importance to those of the second Ramesses, but they represent him as even a greater conqueror. The principal monuments remaining of him are the two edifices on the west side of Thebes, at Medinet-Habu, as shown on our plan. The smaller palace was the royal harem, where the king played at chess with his wives and daughters, obviously as a recreation after his campaigns.[116] Here the prisoners of the countries of the north and south are introduced as caryatides (Pl. CXLII. CXLIII.). The following names are legible:

Northern countries:

Rabu, bearded (p. 93.); Mashuash (p. 94.); Kheta — Amar; Gaikkrui — Skhaïrtana or Saïrtana (p. 96.), with the addition "on the sea;" Ṭuirsa (p. 97.) "on the sea."

Southern people:

Kesh; Turses; Tarua.

[116] Any one who wishes to see the details of these representations will find them in the French work. Rosellini has omitted some of them, as well as Lepsius, from motives of delicacy.

In the larger palace, under the figures of the prisoners we find the following names (Pl. CXXIII.):

Bearded prisoners:

Tapitu — SHURI (Khiuri); Tirana — Terabu(s)a — Neb(r)aana; Rebanit; Asira (country) — Iiha, Agaru, Khiburu, Hairenau.

Mention of his eleventh and twelfth years is found in fragments of inscriptions.

In the large historical representations of the outer wall, Ammon promises him the conquest of the land of Tamh. (p. 16.) The land of Sati is mentioned afterwards.

The representations of an action at sea, or at least on the water, are unique. (Pl. CXXX. CXXXI.) (Mon. Storici, iv. p. 36. seq.) The enemy are inhabitants of the north (l. 1.), Rosellini thinks islanders (l. 10.).[117] But the text speaks of a great body of water (with an expression which is also used for the Nile): water in the land, not land in the water. A strong building, probably therefore a captured fortress, is mentioned as his own residence, called Makatira or Maka-Tira. (p. 44.) In the concluding representation "the Shepherds of Pet" (Libyans) are mentioned (p. 52.), who are met with elsewhere (p. 59.) as a general expression for several races[118] cognate to the RNMNN. Prisoners are represented from the foreign land of the GAÏKKRUI (p. 53.), and from the foreign land of Rabu, allies of the former (p. 54.). This latter country, when mentioned among the representations of Ramses II., we thought to be situated not far from the land of the Kheta.

"The unclean race of the Tanuna" and "the unclean race of the Pursata" also seem to belong to the Gaïkkrui.

[117] Comp. Pl. cxxxii. l. 3. p. 45.

[118] Mon. de l'Égypte, iii. Pl. ccxxvii. ccxxviii.

In the interior of the second great court the conflict against the Rabu is represented. (Pl. cxxxvi. p. 64. seq.) Here the Gaïkkrui appear as allies of the Egyptians. The land of Tamah is also mentioned as a hostile country (p. 66.),—the land of Tehen[119], already spoken of in the wars of Ramses II. (p. 70.). The inscription states that the king passed over a river (l. 23, 24. p. 74.): 1000 prisoners and 3000 or 6000 killed are recorded.

At the close of the pictorial representations there follows a long historical inscription, in some places well preserved (Pl. cxxxix. cxl.), an epitome of which is given in Rosellini's translation. (p. 85. seq.) Besides "the Shepherds of Pet" and the Tehen, the following are here introduced as conquered tribes:

Tmha — Mashausha.
(l. 27—29., comp. 42. p. 87. seq.)

The great water (the island of Rosellini) is also mentioned here. (l. 53—58. p. 89.)

The tomb of this king at Biban el Moluk was discovered by Champollion and Rosellini, and in their opinion it is little inferior in grandeur and beauty of architectonical design to that of Sethos I. The beautiful sarcophagus of red granite is at Paris; the lid had been previously sent to Cambridge.

At the close of this king's reign it is very obvious that the power and renown of Egypt passed away for centuries. His conquests terminate in buildings, his warlike expeditions in profuse self-indulgence and luxurious living. The ornaments of the magnificent tomb which he commenced were never finished. After his time the number of the monuments constantly diminishes, they contain no record of glorious exploits, and exhibit decline and decay.

[119] Comp. Pl. cxxxvii. 66. p. 77. Comp. l. 24. p. 87. of the Historical Inscriptions.

The key to these phenomena is found in the Asiatic synchronisms of that age.

As regards the warlike expeditions and conquests, the earlier Egyptologers have obviously been drawn on from unhistorical conclusions and unfounded assumptions to conjectures about extensive and vast conquests in Asia, which have not been verified.

If we condense the principal groups of Asiatic names, the brilliancy of these campaigns dwindles into a very small compass. They did not extend beyond the Euphrates. But that very contraction confers upon them a proportionately greater importance as regards history and mankind.

The theatre of them was Palestine, from the frontier of Egypt as far as Phœnicia, and that, indeed, immediately before the conquest of Joshua. The Israelites, with their 2,000,000 souls and their flocks, and with 600,000 men capable of bearing arms, were already encamped in the country to the east of Jordan, and extended northward from the Arnon, when Ramses III. came to the throne. About the fourteenth year of this Pharaoh's reign, Joshua passed over Jordan. This is the synchronism which we hope to establish at the end of this work.

While we must be upon our guard about the explanation of isolated hieroglyphical names of cities or races, it would be equally uncritical to shrink from such an inquiry and explanation, in the face of a series of connected and harmonious drawings, in a country well known both geographically and historically.

I maintain, therefore, that the extant names among the northern tribes and districts (in the reading of which great strides have been made since the time of Rosellini) all belong to Palestine, from its southern frontier as far as Phœnicia inclusive. The country to the east of Jordan, south of the Jabbok, is not touched

upon. The journeying of the Israelites was clearly towards the coast of Phœnicia.

We will first identify the Palestinian names:

1. The Kheta are the Hittites, well known to us since the days of Abraham, in Hebrew 'Hittim, and called by the Alexandrians Khettæans. No one at the present day dreams of calling them Scythians, and on this head we need only to refer to what has been said in the former books.

They had spread already, together with this ancient people of Southern Canaan, towards the north. We find them, in Joshua's days, amongst the Amorites. What remained of them became tributary to Solomon.

2. The Amar are unquestionably these Amorites, in Hebrew 'Emori, in the Septuagint Amorræans. Josephus calls the country Amoritis, or Amorræa. Joshua drove them from the southern mountain of Judah, where they dwelt near Hebron. Their kingdom on the other side Jordan, with its principal city Hesbon, had been previously captured. This district to the south of the Jabbok was, however, a conquest they had made from Moab. Their earlier settlement was to the north of that river, towards Hermon.
3. The Pursata were known in early times as designating the Philistines, whose country is called in the Old Testament Peleset, and the people Pelistim (Philistæans), which is equivalent to Palestinians. It is the name mentioned to Herodotus by the interpreters at the Pyramids, when speaking of the shepherd people of King Philitis, a contraction corresponding with the Pelêti of David, who, together with the Kerêti (Cretans), formed a band of foreign mercenaries as body-guards of the sovereign. Interpreters of Jewish history have been much at issue as to the age of

the settlement of this people. The occurrence of their name in the time of Ramses removes all doubt as to their being in the country before the time of Joshua.

4. Connected as they are with these tribes, we can have no hesitation in considering the RABU as the Egyptian form of the REPHA, REPHÆANS, REPHAIM, or "the sons of Repha," in the Bible; a giant race, which Joshua found in Central Palestine. In the time of Abraham the Rephæans were settled in the country east of Jordan, to the northward, where we find subsequently the Ammonites and Moabites.

There is equally little question as to the identification of the PHŒNICIAN names which occur on this king's monuments.

1. TIRA, Tyre. We have now authentic proof that TIRA means Tyre. In the fragment of an historical representation of the exploits of Ramses III., in one of the Anastasius Papyri, we read: "Tira, the city on the sea, which receives its fish from the sea, its grain from the land." In addition to this, MAKATURA[120] occurs as the hieroglyphical expression for watch-tower.[121] Starting from this assumption, the whole representation described above of the siege and capture of the fortified city on the sea is clear and intelligible, as announcing

[120] MAK, MAKA, comes from the same root as *μέγα*, *miekel*, *maha*, great. In like manner the Hebrew word MIGDOL, tower, comes from *gadal*, to be great. It is given in the vocabulary, in agreement with Osburn, as the expression for MIGDOL (tower). MESTOL occurs in the Coptic translations of the Bible (Exod. xiv. 2.) instead of Migdol, also as designating MAGDOLUM near Pelusium. It has, however, no root in Egyptian. There are three Egyptian words for fortress: *bekhen*, *tekha*, and *khetem*. Neither can it come from MAK.

[121] See Vocabulary, Vol. I. p. 469.; the reference to Rosellini, M. R. lx.

a great fact hitherto unknown in the history of Phœnicia.

2. Tuirsa. It cannot mean the Tyrians. First, there is a difficulty in admitting *sa* as a formative syllable. Yet there is not only a general analogy in the common original stem, as sa, *sa*, in a pronominal sense, but also a closer foundation in the Coptic *sa*, which is prefixed to a noun in the sense of *person*, *maker* of something, and may consequently in the old language be affixed as a derivative syllable. The second objection which may be raised is that here the Hebrew and Canaanitish ts or z (Zor, the rock, name of Tyre) has passed into t, as in Greek, while we can hardly do otherwise than assume that in the hieroglyphical spelling of Zidon the same letter is represented with an S-sound. This is the case also in Greek where it is written Sidon. But we have likewise positive authority for the Aramaic form Tura for Zor, rock. We might suppose Tuirsa to signify the name of the Tyrians. But Birch's explanation of it as Tarsis, the Tarsus of the Greeks in Cilicia, a most ancient town and harbour, is far more probable.

3. *Saïrtana*, according to the above, Sidon, the Sidonians, from *Zidon*, *Zidoni*. It lies "on the sea," and is named immediately before Tyre. The ai is contained in the root from which Zidon comes, whence *zayid*, chase, *zayyad*, hunter. The introduction of the r before the t, and after a diphthong, is in agreement with phonetic usage. For that reason Zarepat, Sarepta, is inadmissible. The omission of n is an objection in itself.

Before them are mentioned:

4. The Gaïkkrui. It is clear that Rosellini's conjecture of their being Phœnicians is altogether un-

tenable. On such monuments as these we must not expect to find general names, merely quite local names. Again, the word *Phoinike*, to which the old Roman form *Pœnus* also belongs, is not a native word but Greek, whether we derive it from the Palm, which is so called in Greek, or from purple (*puniceus color*). There are some arguments in favour of the former of these derivations; the palm is the sign of Tyre on the coins. But *Phoinix* is assuredly merely the Greek translation of 'EDOM. The Phœnicians are the "red men."

In order to get at the meaning of the name, we must first of all account for the R as an expletive for the double K. F cannot contain P H, for the latter is always rendered in the hieroglyphics by P (*Pilippos* instead of *Philippos*). Such a use of it, indeed, would be at variance with the whole nature of the Egyptian F, which always corresponds to V. What comes nearest to this sound is the strong breathing which is peculiar to the Semitic Aïn ('H). The Aïn in Greek is sometimes represented by S, sometimes by H, sometimes by a simple breathing. In Egyptian, especially at the beginning, we should rather expect to find a stronger sound. This would give us 'HAKKU, i. e. 'HAKKO, the Hebrew name of the city to the south of Tyre, afterwards called Ptolemais, and now St. Jean d'Acre.

This interpretation also explains the fact of the Gaïkkrui appearing at first as enemies and besieged, and then, in the contest with Tyre, as allies. Ramses was obliged to take St. Jean d'Acre before he attacked Tyre.

But the representations in the palace of Medinet-Habu contain also the name of the principal city of Western Syria, Damascus. Not however in the name TAMAH (Temha), but rather in MASUAS or MASAUSA, which is of frequent occurrence, or (according to the

older pronunciation, Mashuash (pronounced like the Greek *Skhoinos*). The ancient name of Damascus must have been Meseq. The ordinary Hebrew expression, Dammeseq, is self-evidently a composite word. The original form is manifestly Darmeseq (in the Chronicle), as the Aramaic form Darmesuq (the Hebrew contraction of which is Dummeseq) clearly proves, for the latter simply means "dwelling of Meseq." The hieroglyphical spelling Mashuash, Mashausha, is a strictly analogous strongly marked form of rendering such a word. By this means also a very obscure expression, never hitherto satisfactorily explained (Gen. xv. 2.; comp. 3.), becomes intelligible. It can only mean that Eliezer of Damascus, the steward of his house, will be Abraham's heir, he himself being childless.[122]

[122] The present text stands literally thus: Abraham says, upon the assurance of God, which came to him in a vision, "I will be to thee a shield, and thy reward shall be great" (xv. 1.):

"Filius Meseq domus meæ est Damascus Eli'hezer."

As this is not sense, commentators have ventured to take two liberties. It is assumed that Meseq stands for Mesekh (מֶשֶׁךְ for מְשֶׁךְ), in the sense of possession, as the word once occurs in Job (xxviii. 18.); whereas, in Zech. (ii. 9), mim*saq* (from *msq*) bears that meaning. Msq, however, occurs nowhere else. But another positively ungrammatical liberty must also be taken, that of supposing Dammeseq (דַּמֶּשֶׂק) to mean Dammasqi (דַּמַּשְׂקִי), Damascenes. In this way we obtain the translation:

"Filius possessionis domûs meæ est El. Damascenus,"

which is interpreted:

"Possessor (heres) domûs (rei familiaris) meæ est El. D."

Tuch has already felt the pangs of philological conscience. Hitzig proposes to consider the words הוּא דַּמֶּשֶׂק as a gloss, which grew out of one misunderstanding, and crept into the text by a second. Ewald thinks it a proverb, with a play upon the words דמשק and כן משק. I venture to propose the following solution. Meseq is still the old Arabic name of the city of Damascus, and may originally have just as well been so pronounced by the Hebrews, instead of the later form Meseq, as both sounds are represented by the same letter (שׂ).

The vast excavations made by Mr. Greene in the winter of 1854, with which I became acquainted in January, 1856, from M. de Rougé's able article upon it in the Athenæum Français, Nov. 3. 1855, confirm and complete what has been already stated above as to the locality, extent, and results of the campaigns of the last conquering Pharaoh of the Ramesside race. There is, in a legible inscription on the right side of the second pylon, rescued from the sand for the first time by Mr. Greene,

In the Bible our Damask (Damaskus-stuff) is called Dammesek. We may simply therefore suppose that, before the Masoretic punctuation, the sound was undistinguished, or the letter the sign for both sounds, as in so many other instances. Dammesek must be a compound word. Or we may choose to consider it as DAR-MESEQ, the dwelling of Meseq, for the word is so written in a passage in Chronicles, and DOR-MESEQ (as well as DUMMESEQ) is the Syriac form. As Gesenius has justly remarked, the form DAR-MESEQ is the ordinary later solution of the reduplication. But what is Meseq or Meseq? It probably will not be taken for the Turanian race of the Mesekh (Μόσχοι). In a subsequent page (on the Egyptian word Edom), and again in the Fifth Book, I shall state my reasons for thinking it probable that Dam- (or Dom-) Meseq is merely Edom-Meseq, i. e. Edom of the Settlement, the indigenous agricultural Edom, as contrasted with Edom-Seïr, the marauding shepherd mountain-tribes, or Edom-Kenaan, Edom of the Lowlands, i. e. Phœnician (the red, puniceus, φοίνιξ).

If we adopt this view, Dammeseq is nothing but a very correct marginal note, of which there are so many; the purport of which was to give the ordinary and unmistakable word, instead of one which had become obsolete, or no longer euphonious. In that case the text will run thus:

2. Et dixit Abram: Domine Jahveh, quid dabis mihi? Equidem orbus vivo, et filius Damasci (Damascenus) est domus mea (posteri mei), ille Eliezer.
3. Et dixit Abram: Ecce mihi non dedisti semen, et ecce filius domus meæ hereditabit me.

This gets rid also of the present disagreeable repetition. It is unnecessary to prove that "Bayt" bears the sense of posterity. But the grammatical translation of verse 2. may be:

Et filius possessionis domus meæ est ille Eliezer.

Dammeseq must under all circumstances be a gloss.

a passage in which the king boasts, "that he has driven the barbarians out of Egypt with the sword." *He must therefore have found them in Egypt.* The hordes who made the inroad into Lower Egypt are elsewhere called the Tamahu (the white people from the north). He says, in reference to the expulsion of the enemy, "I have made their land (their frontier) my own." Among the conquered nations we read Aasen, Kheta, Ati, also Karkamasa and Aratu. We cannot well be wrong in agreeing with Hincks and De Rougé, that the former of the two latter means Karkhemis (Circesium), which is in Mesopotamia (on the Chaboras). Nor is there any objection to be made against the identification of Aratu as Aradus. Some of the others appear to me hazardous. The Sartana and Touras are called "people of the sea."

The circumstance of Ramses taking Tyre is one of very great import for the general history of that age.

II. Ramses IV.—XIV.

As the splendour of the 19th Dynasty died out after Ramses II., in like manner and still more so did that of the 20th with Ramses III.; except that the latter family occupied the throne a much longer time.

We shall give in the Fifth Book a complete survey of the succession of the other kings of this dynasty. We here confine ourselves to such personages and events in that dark period as are remarkable in a historical point of view. In order to prevent any mistake, we mark the Ramesside sovereigns by their distinctive Egyptian titles. It is a settled point, therefore, that the immediate successors of Ramses III. (Hek-pen) were his five sons (Ramses IV.—VIII.), and that then the son of the last king but one ascended the throne as Ramses IX. It was the first of these successors of the chief of the dynasty, consequently Ramses IV., who caused the side

inscriptions on the obelisk of Thothmes I., at Karnak, to be engraven. He is Ra Seser Ma: Meri-Amen-hek-Ma. On many of the monuments he placed his own scutcheons over those of his father, which act his younger brother afterwards retorted upon him. On the lateral inscriptions the king says, "He has made all foreign lands subject to him" (western side, to the right, 112.), which means nothing more than that his neighbours left him at peace. For, although the tomb is certainly one of the most magnificent (p. 120.), *it contains no historical representations whatever.* The only monument we possess of the sixth, Ra-neb-ma (Ramses Hek-neter-An), is his tomb, which is small, insignificant, and also without any historical representations; its execution betrays the greatest haste. The sarcophagus exhibits the same character (p. 121. seq.). The only monuments of his successor, Ramses VII. (Ramses Neter-Hek-An), are two stelæ in the Berlin Museum.

It is a noteworthy circumstance that his successor, the youngest of the sons of Ramses III., is the last who bears on his scutcheon the symbol of the God Set, once so highly honoured, and which was so frequent in this as well as the preceding dynasty (Meri-Set). The erasure of the name and sign of Set on the older monuments must, therefore, have been the act of his successors.

It is only in the later periods of this dynasty that we meet with the contest between the Ramessides and the priests of Ammon, who evidently had either seized upon the royal power, or had it transferred to them by a hostile conqueror. It was likewise a priest of Ammon who ultimately overthrew the house of the Ramessides. The whole dynasty exhibits the decline of the power of the Pharaohs. It is true that remains of splendid buildings of this king have been discovered in the important excavations at Memphis, so judiciously conducted and

learnedly described by M. Mariette in 1853. Yet neither this nor the gorgeousness of the private tombs is any evidence of Egyptian independence; it merely proves the wealth of the king and the prosperity of private individuals.

II.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY, ACCORDING TO THE MONUMENTS.

The First Tanite Dynasty.

When this Second House of the Ramessides became extinct, a great revolution must have taken place in Egypt. Not only did the Theban Dynasties disappear for ever, and the sceptre pass into the hands of princely families of Lower Egypt, in the first instance indeed to one from Tan (the Zoan of Scripture), but there seems to be no doubt that this 21st Dynasty belonged to the sacerdotal caste. Here, again, we must refer to the Fifth Book for a complete survey of the reigns. We will merely remark that Si-Amen Her-Hor appears to be the first king in whose name we recognise the Smendes of Manetho. He is called High Priest. He is succeeded by Pi-ankh, but not as king, merely as high priest. The successor on the throne is Pi-senetem, Pusemes I., and the series closes with Pusemes II., who is preceded by Ptukhanu.

The first of these Pharaohs, Si-amen (the Amensi Pehôr of Rosellini), erected buildings in the temple at Karnak, mentioned as the work of the ninth and tenth Ramses. The king is here called "High Priest," and at the same time "Colonel of the Archers." (p. 141.)

There is also a restoration of his at Karnak, in Horus' great dromos of Sphinxes.

Our suggestion that this sacerdotal caste was the 21st Dynasty appears to be confirmed by the latest dis-

coveries. What was known about it before the recent researches of Lepsius was as follows: — Prisse and Birch have found monuments which prove that the last king, Pusemes II. (the only one of the name whose monuments are extant), had a son, who either reigned conjointly with him (during the thirty-five years ascribed to him in the Lists), or endeavoured after his father's death to defend his throne against Sheshonk, the chief of the 22nd Dynasty. Two days' journey from Cairo, at Fenkhi, not far from the ruins of Tanis, there is a brick building with a scutcheon of Pisham, who is designated on it as High Priest of Ammon and overseer of the district of Tan. There is, also, another royal scutcheon, with the throne-name of Tuthmōsis III. (Ra-men kheper). The family name is Hes-hem-kheb (Isis in Lower Egypt). Hes-hem-kheb, the son of Pisham, is also found on a strip of leather in the Louvre[128], with RAMEN-KHEPER as a throne scutcheon.

Lepsius has discovered a Piankhu II., who clearly belongs to the transition period when the sovereignty passed from the Tanite to the Bubastite Kings, and who accordingly is not recorded by Manetho. It would seem from all this, that we must assume that the first Tanite House originally coalesced with the priests of Ammon; whether it was that it gained the throne through the efforts of the sacerdotal caste, or through the influence of the Assyrians, who restricted the power of the Pharaohs more and more within the limits of the sacerdotal office, and their sovereignty to the district of Tan.

[128] Prisse, Lettre à M. Champollion Figeac, Revue Archéol., 1844–45, p. 723. seq. Birch, Notes upon a Mummy of the 26th Dynasty, 1844.

B.

THE END OF THE NINETEENTH, AND THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY, IN GREEK TRADITION.

I.

HOMER, HERODOTUS, DIODORUS, DICÆARCHUS, AND MANETHO UPON THE KINGS OF EGYPT DURING THE PERIOD OF THE TROJAN WAR. — KING NILUS, PHERON, AND PHUORIS. — KING PROTEUS. — RHAMPSINITUS THE MISER, AND THE INDOLENT KINGS HIS SUCCESSORS.

It is clear that Greek tradition, prior to Herodotus, was acquainted with the Great Ramesses. He was, however, confused with his still greater father, and called Sethos, Sethōsis, Sesoosis, Sesothis: perhaps, even, occasionally, in consequence of the blunder of Herodotus, Sesostris. We have endeavoured in the preceding pages to point out how the great father and his splendour-loving and boastful son became confused and merged into one in the text of the historical work, owing to the glosses of Josephus or one of the Epitomists. We showed also that the monuments have placed us in a position to adjust this blunder, and to restore to each of those two great personages his own rights. It was Sethos (Seti I.) who had to contend with a treacherous brother, and not Ramesses II. It was Sethos whom the priests compared in the inscriptions with Osiris. Lastly, it was Sethos who lived and died as a conqueror, and left to his youthful son a warlike army accustomed to victory.

The rediscovery, however, of the historical position of these two heroes of the Ramesside house, who were thus jumbled together, may also, as we think, be rendered serviceable in adjusting the sequel of this history of the Ramessides. For Herodotus, as well as Diodorus, combines with the history of the former that of his

posterity and successors. On this occasion the Father of History indulges us with the popular stories and traditions and jokes, which convey a reflex of the times out of the legends and songs of the people. But these stories are doubly interesting, from the connexion in which the Greeks and Greek ciceroni have placed them with the Homeric legends and poetry; and yet the vast edifices which the Egyptians showed to Herodotus, as bearing the names of those kings, prove that we are dealing with really historical Pharaohs.

We will therefore attempt to connect these romantic stories with the authentic series of the 19th and 20th Dynasties. There seems to us no difficulty in showing that we still find in Herodotus and Diodorus three names which, from their character and subject matter, belong to the period after Sethosis-Ramesses down to the extinction of the brilliancy of the empire in the third generation of the 20th Dynasty. Pliny's list of the obelisk-kings also furnishes us with several names of this period, and completes the proof that that portion of Greek tradition belongs to it. In this manner we hope to be able to separate the historical material, which underlies these obscure and hitherto impracticable traditions, from the confusion and fables with which they have been transmitted to us. Here again it will be the Grecian Muse, who, despite all her short-comings, will reanimate the stately monuments, which, although the inscriptions are legible, are still mute for the purposes of history.

We have already eliminated and distinguished, in our summary of the chronology of Herodotus and Diodorus, the portions of tradition which are coherent in themselves. The section of Herodotus which belongs to this period is the second.[124] The corresponding portions of Diodorus are the fifth and seventh.[125] Between

[124] Book I. p. 105.

[125] Id. p. 143.; comp. 145.

these two sections a relic of the history of the Old Empire, that is, the end of it, has been interpolated.

Both historians commence with Sesôstris-Sesôsis. According to Diodorus, the aged monarch became blind, and in despair destroyed himself. This would suit the son of Sethos, the second Ramesses, who reigned more than 66 years, and consequently must have reached an advanced age.

Herodotus then relates the history of his son, whom he calls Pheron. He tells us that he also was long stricken with blindness, in consequence, indeed, according to the belief of the Egyptians, of his having upon some occasion, when surprised by the rapid swelling of the Nile, in a moment of irritation against the beneficent God, cast his spear into the sacred stream. The history of the strange oracular sentence about Buto is well known. He condemned his wife and several other distinguished ladies to be burnt to death, and raised a poor virtuous woman to the throne. (Diodorus states she was a gardener's wife). The Sicilian historian has told this story precisely as Herodotus does, and it might have been supposed that he borrowed it, as he did many other things, from him (destroying, however, the zest, and giving a flowery turn to it), were it not for the latter trait. He mentions also King Sesôsis II. (Sethos II.), but not Pheron. They both mention that this ruler erected two splendid obelisks in front of the temple of Helios, which Diodorus correctly and in more detail refers to the great temple of Helios in Heliopolis, each made of a single piece 150 feet high, and each side 12 feet wide at the base.

With this the fifth Part of Diodorus concludes. Herodotus, however, gives the continuation of the history. He says that after the death of Pheron, the throne was occupied by a *man at Memphis*, whom the Greeks call Proteus; i. e. either that after Pheron-Proteus a new Dynasty succeeded, or that Pheron was

a Memphite usurper, and formed the transition to the 20th Theban Dynasty. He does not give his Egyptian name, but it is clear from his mentioning the works he executed, that he is speaking of a thoroughly historical monumental king. We have already paved the way in the First Book for the explanation of the legend of Proteus. The Hellenic writer had firm faith in the historical character of his Homeric heroes, and generally also in that of the foreign personages with whom the heroic legend had connected them. Even when he disputes some particular in these stories, his own arguments are drawn from the same faith. Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the Alexandrian, was the first who discarded this whole view of the case, which, in that hypocritical imperial age, naturally stamped him as an unbeliever. Even Strabo, with all his enthusiasm for the founder of geometry and geography, was dreadfully scandalised by such a free-thinking propensity in his favourite. Homer, indeed, had told in his beautiful language the story of Menelaus making the acquaintance of the Egyptian sea-god Proteus in the harbour of the island of Pharos, "before the stream of Ægyptus," a day's sail from the land:[126]

> "A faithful seer, the ancient of the deep,
> Immortal Proteus, the Egyptian, haunts
> These shores, familiar with all ocean's gulfs,
> Neptune's attendant ever."

The first question which must have been asked by every Greek traveller in Egypt, from the time of Psammetichus downwards, was this: Who was Proteus, the contemporary of Menelaus? We have already shown how, from this and similar elements akin to it, the story of the detention of the real Helen was concocted[127]—a compound of Greek curiosity and Egyptian sciolism and pretension. The only thing the critic has to investigate is this: How it happened that a synchronism, true or false, was instituted between a hero of the Greek legend

[126] Odyssey, δ. 384.

[127] Book I. p. 101. seq.

and an Egyptian monumental king? I believe the Greeks to have pursued here the plan which formed the basis of all their chronological calculations of that period. They must have known, in the first place, how many generations the heroes of the Trojan war lived before the first Olympiad, or any other fixed point in their present or immediately past history. We have seen[128] that Dicæarchus placed King Nilus 436 years before the Olympiads, and he calculated from him the age of Sesortōsis-Sesostris. We may now add what was there only hinted at. The simple meaning is, that Dicæarchus placed the taking of Troy, or the Trojan histories generally, 436 years before the Olympiads. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, as we know, place that event 407 or 408 years before the above era[129]—a calculation adopted by almost all later chronologers, especially Cato and Varro. But this computation was not made from the Annals, simply by generations (lives) of the Spartan kings, as they appear in the Spartan Lists without any chronology. A generation was calculated at 33 years, or three generations to a century, and so the above dates were computed with more or less care and exactitude. The main value of such an approximative calculation must naturally depend upon whether the given series consisted of real historical personages, or whether it consisted of members of a single family, or persons holding official situations; or whether fragments of legends were formed into genealogies, and attached to purely ideal mythological names. The Greeks did not make this distinction. Herodotus confidently, and without any hesitation, calculated how long Hercules lived before his time, just as if he had been an historical prince with an authentic pedigree. He thought the Trojan histories could be ascertained almost as accurately as that of the Persian wars. He

[128] Book I. p. 111. seq.

[129] Id. p. 119. 123.; comp. 198. seq.

placed them at somewhat over 800 years before his time, consequently, as he wrote about 460 B.C., nearly 1260 years before our era. We see, then, that the interval which separated the Trojan histories and the taking of Troy from the Olympiads, the starting-points of the chronology and annals of Greece, gradually diminished. It was more than 480 years according to Herodotus;

436 „ Dicæarchus;
407 „ the Alexandrians.

This gives us the fixed points for Greek computation. But what was the Egyptian element in this calculation? This the Greeks could only have learned from the Egyptian priests. But it is clear that they told them nothing on this head; for we find no connected chronology whatever in Herodotus and his successors before the Psammetici, that is, a century after the commencement of the Olympiads.

There is, however, little doubt that the priests had access to Egyptian annals, in which the length of reigns was recorded, and in the New Empire the actual chronology of each dynasty.

Let us here take Manetho as our standard, in the first place, according to our restoration of him from the monuments, and secondly in the shape in which he appears in Africanus, according to the extant versions. Each of these calculations is peculiarly valuable, from the circumstance of our finding in the existing text of all the extracts two synchronistic data, which have a special bearing upon our present inquiry.

Opposite to the name of Petubastes, the first king of the 23rd Dynasty, the following notice is affixed:

"During his reign the first Olympiad was celebrated."

Unfortunately, it lasted 40 years. It commenced, according to our tables[130], 829 B.C., or 53 years before

[130] Comp. Book III. p. 586. The 22nd Dynasty lasted, according to us 150 years, according to the MSS. 120 or 126.

the first Olympiad, and ended consequently, 13 years before that epoch. This gives us a margin of from 13 to 53 years.

But against the name of Thuoris (i. e. Phuôris) Setnekt, the last king of the 19th Dynasty, we find this notice:

> "Who is called by Homer Polybus, the husband of Alkandra. In his time Troy was taken."

In the first of these two lines we evidently have another landmark for fixing the date of the war. According to the above system of chronological computations, Proteus, the God, was quietly made into a king, and Thôn or Thônis into his lieutenant at the Canopic mouth. The Alexandrian critics, on the other hand, made an ingenious use of it. Herodotus had stated that Proteus was a Memphite; but the king of Egypt at that time must have been a Theban, for the Trojan war coincided with the period when Diospolitan Princes, the House of the Ramessides, reigned in Egypt. Now Homer represents Menelaus and Helena as receiving hospitality, princely hospitality indeed, from a Theban, who, as well as his spouse, plainly knew how to make very royal presents to their guests. For the divine poet sings in the fourth book of the Odyssey (verses 125—132.), when Helen enters the hall:

> "And Phylo brought her silver basket, gift
> Of fair Alkandra, wife of Polybus,
> Whose mansion in Egyptian Thebes is rich
> In untold treasure, and who gave himself
> Ten golden talents and two silver baths,
> With two bright tripods, to the Spartan prince,
> Beside what Helen from his spouse received;
> A golden spindle, and a basket wheeled,
> Itself of silver and its lip of gold."

This obviously gives us the Greek name of the king who was contemporary with the taking of Troy; and the same is clearly given in the second clause of the

above notice in all the epitomes of Manetho. There seems to me to be an evident connexion between these two glosses or notes about Petubastes and Proteus. How many years, then, are to be allowed according to this, between the commencement of the Olympiads and the taking of Troy? The following are the dates derived from our connected restoration of Manetho:

The length of the 20th Dynasty, from Ramesses III.[131] - - - -	185 years.
The length of the 21st Dynasty - -	130
„ 22nd „ - -	150
From the commencement of the reign of Phuôris to that of Petubastes -	465
Of the forty years' reign of Petubastes	15
	480 years.

The above calculation therefore, as far as the Hellenic element is concerned, must have been borrowed from Herodotus; and it formed the basis of Manetho's calculation. For Dicæarchus and Manetho were so nearly contemporary as to render it at least improbable that the latter should be cognisant of the former's computation.[132] We know, on the other hand, that he studied Herodotus very carefully; so much so, indeed, as to have written a work upon the blunders made by him in his Egyptian history; or if not a separate work, that a criticism by him of Herodotus was compiled out of his own historical work.[133] Nothing, therefore, can be more natural than that he should have adopted his views in fixing the important synchronism in the Trojan war where Hellenic legends touched upon Egyptian topics. He simply calculated back from that point, and, as we see, according to the above datum; very accurately,

[131] Vol. II. p. 573.

[132] See Vol. I. p. 112. seq.

[133] Id. p. 67. seq.

though not a whit more certainly as regards the historical starting-point, the date of the Olympiads.

It is evident that the above notice did not emanate from the Christian epitomists, as not one of them made the reign of Petubastes coincident with the commencement of the Olympiads, the date of which they naturally must have known.

We now see, much more clearly than before, that the statement of Herodotus about the successor of Pheron being called Proteus by the Greeks, simply means that the king who was mentioned next after Pheron was contemporary with Menelaus and the taking of Troy, and consequently must be Proteus. It is probable that the elder Hecatæus even had inquired about his name. In short, it was a settled thing that the Egyptians must have known King Proteus and given an account of him, call him by whatever name they would.

We further observe that Dicæarchus, the first writer after Herodotus who thoroughly examined into the facts, identified another Egyptian sovereign, Nilus, with Proteus or Polybus. He cannot well be anybody but the Phuôris of Manetho, or rather of his epitomists; for Manetho must have called him by his monumental name, Set-nekt (perhaps Sethonis). Phuôris is not a monumental name any more than Thuôris is, but a popular name like Mesphres and others. The Egyptian word for Nile, however, is Iaru, according to our reading Iaûrû, and with the article Phiaûrû. Eratosthenes, as we have seen, when treating of the Old Empire, wrote it Phuôrô.[134] So far we have argued upon philological grounds only that Set-nekt (or Merra) must be the king called by the Egyptians Nilus, i.e. Pheron, or something like it; for Thuôris admits of no explanation, whereas Phuôris, by the slightest possible alteration of the first letter may be the Nile. We are now in a position to prove the

[134] Appendix of Authorities, p. 674.

correctness of our emendation and interpretation. One of the kings of the period to which, according to Homer, the Trojan histories belonged, must have borne the appellation of Nilus or Nileus. The computation of Dicæarchus is unexplainable upon any other supposition. But SET-NEKT, the KHETNA (KETEN) of Diodorus, who is entered in the Lists as the last king of the 19th Dynasty, was contemporaneous with the Trojan war, according to the computations of the classics above referred to, and Manetho himself states so in express terms.

We shall also see that Diodorus was acquainted with this king's name. *What can the Pheron of Herodotus be but the Egyptian name of the same king?* His popular name is alluded to, perhaps, in the story of the connexion between his blindness and the sacred stream. We shall revert to this subject hereafter in our mention of Pliny.

The conclusion is, therefore, that Diodorus' notice of Sesôsis II. is not a pure invention, in so far as it refers to Sethos II., the grandson and second successor of Ramses the Great. It certainly was not quite accurate on the part of Herodotus to call Pheron-Phuôris-Nilus the son and immediate successor of the Great Sesostris, for he was Menephthah, but his son's name was Sethos (Seti II.). Phuôris-Pheron, therefore, was the third successor of the Great Ramses, and probably was only a distant connexion of that family.

It is, however, now intelligible, why the priests did not tell him the name of the intervening king. Menephthah was a fugitive, and disgraced, and his reign was unimportant to anybody but the astronomers, by whom only, with the exception of the Lists, his name has been recorded. The reign of Sethos II. was short, and there was a good joke connected with Phuôris-Nilus. But the great similarity between Sesôsis II. and Sethos II. would lead us to infer that the story related by the

priests about the blindness and the cure had reference to the latter. The notice in Pliny, as we shall shortly see, is confirmatory of this view.

The Proteus of Herodotus must necessarily have been called Ramses, for all the kings of the 20th Dynasty, from Ramses III. to Ramses XIV., bore that name. He must also have been a king who had erected many splendid edifices; for Herodotus mentions the celebrated shrine at Memphis, to the south of the temple of Ptah, as having been built by him. Memphis was in his time the principal emporium of the Tyrian colonists; indeed, the whole district was called after them "the camp of the Tyrians."[135] In this shrine there was a temple of the foreign Goddess Aphrodite. This we have no doubt refers to a temple of Astarte, a name already pointed out in the Second Book, on the monuments of Ramses the Great. This reminded Herodotus of Helen, who had the same appellation, and such a coincidence gave him an opportunity of telling the story of Paris and Helena and Menelaus at the court of the Egyptian king[136], an invention of the priests and interpreters on the strength of some Greco-Egyptian legends, the value of which has been already estimated.[137]

We think, therefore, that the priests meant by Proteus the first Ramses of the 22nd Dynasty, the renowned Ramses III. We must not, however, overlook the circumstance of their calling him "a man of Memphis." This would seem to imply that he did not belong to the House of the Ramessides Proper, at least on the paternal side. Diodorus says the same, but he undoubtedly exaggerated. After a blundering interpolation of the tradition belonging to a period between the 8th and 12th Dynasties, between Amasis and Mendes-Marres, he proceeds thus:[138] "Hereupon a king was

[135] Herod. book ii. 112.
[136] Id. 113—120.
[137] Book I. p. 101. seq.
[138] Diodorus, i. 62.

elected from the lower orders, whose Egyptian name was KETNA. The Greeks take him for Proteus, who lived at the time of the Trojan war." This would indicate either a usurper or the chief of a dynasty; if the latter, perhaps Ramses III. We need not, therefore, suggest that here, as in the case of Sethos I. and Ramesses the Great, there is confusion in the legend between the father and son. The point by which the historical position of Proteus is determined is the connexion into which he is brought with the commencement of a new royal house. My explanation of KETNA being the SET-NEKT of Diodorus is now fully authenticated. I had proposed to read SETNA, but Lepsius has since proved (in his treatise on the 1st Dynasty of Gods) that SEB (Kronos) was in later times pronounced Keb, and was so rendered in Greek. SETNA in like manner was afterwards changed into Ketna.

His successor, according to Herodotus and Diodorus, was the celebrated miser. He is called by the former Rampsinitus, i. e. Ramses Neter-hek-An (our Ramses VII.), the last but one of the sons of Ramses III. who sat on the throne of the Pharaohs. Diodorus calls him Remphis, i. e. with a trifling alteration, Rempsis[139], Ramses, Ramesses, as he was in fact named on his family scutcheon.

The character of this monarch, who had evidently made peace with the Assyrians, is admirably drawn. That he really left behind him the incredible sum of 400,000 talents, or nearly £700,000, we are no more bound to believe upon the faith of Diodorus' informant, than we are to take Herodotus' narrative in this instance for history; we mean his charming story about the adroit thief, the son of the engineer, who discovered, by a hint from his father on his deathbed, the way into the treasury, by taking advantage of which he ended (as

[139] Id. ΡΕΜΨΙΣ instead of ΡΕΜΦΙΣ.

is always the case in this sort of romances) by marrying the king's daughter. But it is an historical fact, that the people and the priests told the story in this way according to their own songs. Herodotus mentions also the works erected by him at Memphis, where he picked up all this information, — a court to the west of the temple of Ptah, probably a western portico of that shrine. In front of it (at the propylon) he set up two statues facing each other, each 25 ells (37½ feet) in height. The one that stood on the north, and therefore faced south, the Egyptians called Summer, the other Winter. The former was an object of adoration, the latter an abomination. They may, therefore, have been statues of the king and his great father Ramses III., the Proteus of Herodotus.

In the sequel the two historians agree perfectly with each other and with authentic history. Herodotus makes the good old times to end with Rampsinitus, which were followed by disastrous days for the land of Egypt. There is no fact in history better established, than that these were not the days of the builders of the Pyramids, whose history Herodotus dovetails on to them. But we shall shortly see, notwithstanding, that his words were strictly true.

Diodorus states [140] that Remphis the miser was succeeded, during seven generations, by a series of indolent kings, who gave themselves up entirely to pleasure and debauchery. Ramses VII. (Neter-hek-An) was really succeeded by seven kings of the same name and race. The statement, therefore, is tolerably accurate, even though the seven kings do not represent seven generations, inasmuch as Ramses VII. and VIII. belong to the same generation, and other kings of it may also possibly have been brothers or cousins. Or do seven generations mean 7 by 30 or 7 by 33, 210 or 231 years? For the

140 Diodorus, i. 63.

sacerdotal Pharaohs of the 21st Dynasty also performed no exploits, and after them a new hero sprang up. This Tanite Dynasty, however, lasted 130 years. If, of the 185 years of the 20th Dynasty, 30 are assigned to Ramses and 55 to his three elder sons conjointly, there remain 100 for the rest of the dynasty. The period between Rampsinitus and Sheshonk, or the age of the indolent kings, would comprise in that case exactly 230 years. In short, view it in which ever way we will, it is an historical tradition. The latter explanation appears to me the more probable, apart from the fact of its being exactly suitable.

Hence (Diodorus proceeds to say) the sacred annals make no mention of their having executed any costly works or performed any notable exploit, with one exception, that of Nileus. From him the river took its name, which had previously been called Egyptus (as Homer pointed out to the Greeks). This same Nileus was the author of many salutary undertakings, and availed himself of all the resources which the river supplied. The latter remark looks suspicious, as being an explanation of the name; against the former no exception can be taken. But this Nileus is evidently merely a traditional Phuôrô-Nilus, the founder of the family to which the indolent kings belonged. He represented the synchronism of the Trojan war. The Alexandrians, no doubt, discovered that the real Phuôrô-Nileus (the close of the 19th Dynasty) was far too old for the computation of Eratosthenes of the interval of 407 or 408 years between the taking of Troy and the first Olympiad, which with them was an established date. According to our computation, he was more than a century too old. Set-nekt reigned from 1301 to 1295 B.C., and, as is well known, the sack of Troy took place, according to the Alexandrians, in 1184. This epoch, then, must have fallen within the second half of the 20th Dynasty, which reigned 185 years, from 1294

to 1110 B.C., i.e. during the time of the seven generations after Rampsinitus, the miser. Here again, therefore, the solution is perfectly satisfactory.

The allusion to Egyptus carries Diodorus back to the very age in which King Egyptus is mentioned. At all events, he then proceeds with the history of the builders of the Pyramids, which we have examined fully in our restoration of the 3rd and 4th Dynasties. After it comes the history of the unfortunate Bokhoris and the Ethiopians (24th and 25th Dynasties). He therefore, as well as Herodotus, makes the good old times to end with Rampsinitus. Of the exploits of Sesonkhis-Sheshonk he had heard nothing.

II.

HISTORICAL REMAINS OF THE TRADITIONS ABOUT THE EIGHTEENTH TO THE TWENTIETH DYNASTIES IN PLINY'S LIST OF THE OBELISKS.

Before submitting to examination the eclipse of the splendour of the Egyptian empire in connexion with the rise of the race of the Ninyads in Assyria, we will attempt to extract some historical matter from Pliny's account of the builders of the obelisks. This has heretofore been considered wholly unintelligible and useless in an historical point of view. We think we have laid the foundation for its explanation, by restoring one more authentic text, and by making use of the Greek traditions which relate to the end of the 19th and the 20th Dynasty.

Pliny, who, as we have shown in the First Book, as well as Herodotus, had at his disposal many authorities which unfortunately are lost to us, possessed in respect to the building and their dimensions, peculiarly valuable and probably official information. This remark was made by Perring, and we found the correctness of it in the case of the Pyramids.

The series of Pyramid-builders was as follows:[141]

§ I. *Obelisks in Egypt.*

I. IN HELIOPOLIS.

(1, 2.) Mesphres (Tuthmōsis II. and III., the sister of Mesphra-Tuthmōsis), XVIII., four or five.

(3—6.) Sesothis, i. e. Sethosis (Sethos, father of the Great Ramesses, XIX. 2.), four obelisks, each 48 ells (72 feet high).

(7, 8.) Rhamesis, in whose time Troy was taken (probably Ramesses III., XX. 2.), of 140 ells (210 feet).

II. AT MEMPHIS.

(9.) The same (Rhamesis) at Memphis, where the royal palace of Mnevis (Menes) stood[142], one obelisk, *only* 120 ells (180 feet) high, but each side 11 ells (16½ feet) wide. There are two other obelisks in the same city.

(10.) Marres (otherwise Zmantes (?), Mendes, i. e. Ammenemes III.=Mœris, XII. 1.), one.

(11.) Phios (Phiops-Apappus, VI. 1.), one without inscription, each of these was 48 ells (72 feet) high.

III. IN ALEXANDRIA.

(12.) Nektanebis (Nektanebus I., the fourth king before Alexander, as Pliny subsequently designates him), XXX. 1.; one of 80 ells (120 feet) in height —first erected by Ptolemy Philadelphus in honour of his sister and consort—afterwards brought to the marketplace at Alexandria by the Roman Prefect Maximus, who cut off the apex of it, intending

[141] Appendix of Authorities, p. 693. seq.

[142] This must be the meaning of the words: "Idem degressus inde (Heliopolis) ubi fuit Mnevidis (Menes) regia, posuit alium," &c. For it is the city which Kambyses took by storm; and must be therefore Memphis.

to put a pyramidion of gold in its stead, which was not done.

(13, 14.) Mesphres (xviii. 4. or 5., see above), two in the port, in front of Cæsar's temple, each 42 ells (63 feet) high.

§ II. *Obelisks at Rome.*

1. Augustus: the obelisk of Psammetichus I., erected in the Circus Magnus (now at the Porta del Popolo, Circus Flaminius): 85¾ feet high, exclusive of the base.
2. The same: the obelisk of Sesothis (xix. 2. or 3., Sethos I. or Ramses the Great), in the Campus Martius (now on Monte Citorio); 76¾ feet high.

   We have remarked in the Appendix of Authorities that Pliny has confounded these two obelisks, for that of Psammetichus is in the Campus Martius, and the one brought from the Circus Maximus to the Piazza of the Porta del Popolo is the obelisk of Seti I. (Sethos) and his son, Ramses II.; the latter added the two side columns of hieroglyphics; what was originally the middle one was made by his father. The following obelisk proves that Sesothis here means Ramesses.
3. The obelisk of the son of Sesodis (i. e. Sethosis, confounded with Ramesses, the son of Sethos), King Menophthes (as we must read it, instead of Nenchoreus; for Benchoreus, Benchoris, Bokhoris, it cannot be), was brought to the Circus of the Vatican of Nero by Caius (Caligula). Pliny neither remarks upon the peculiarity of its having no inscription, nor gives its dimensions. He adds, however, that there was another, 100 ells (150 feet) high, dedicated to Helios by the same king, by command of the oracle, when his sight was restored.

Pliny evidently obtained the first portion of his infor-

mation from some Greek writer, who gave the dimensions in Egyptian ells. The latter part about the obelisks at Rome, with the exception of the remark appended to it, he got from some Roman writer, and therefore gave the dimensions in Roman feet. He then relates, by way of appendix, that the king who erected the Vatican obelisk dedicated another of 100 ells. But 100 ells is a repetition of the height of each of the two obelisks of Pheron in Herodotus, the Sethosis II. of Diodorus. This must consequently have been added afterwards from information derived from some Egyptian source, probably in some other learned Greek work.

Here then we have two obelisks of the Old Empire, both of which have disappeared; of the New Empire (18th to 20th Dynasties) the following series:

1. Three obelisks of MESPHRES (Tuthmōsis II. or III.), one of which was standing in Pliny's time at Heliopolis; the other two at Alexandria, in the port, in front of Cæsar's temple: each have disappeared.
2. Two of SETHOS I., or his son, Ramesses: one at Rome.
3. Four of RAMSES III. (XX. 2) at Heliopolis, which have disappeared.
4. After these comes the Vatican obelisk of the SON OF SETHOSIS (i.e. Ramses). From the notice appended to it we learn that the successor of the Great Ramesses, who was cured of his blindness, was his son. We must consequently conclude that there is a confusion in Herodotus' account of the tradition about this son of Sesothis (as he calls King Ramses) and his third successor (Phûôris-Nilus), unless we are prepared to adopt the improbable supposition that they were both struck blind, and both cured after consulting the oracle.

III.

SYNOPSIS OF THE RESULT.

The following summary will, we think, give a clear idea of the result of our researches into the interconnexion of the Greek traditions and the restoration of the sequence of the Egyptian history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.:

HERODOTUS.	DIODORUS.	DICÆARCHUS and the authorities of PLINY.	MONUMENTS and MANETHO.
Sesôstris, the Great Conqueror.	Sesoôsis, the Great Conqueror.	Sesôthis, Pliny, according to the Alexandrians.	Ramses II., the son of Sethos, xix. 3.
Pherôn, son and successor, who was struck blind, and miraculously cured. Obelisk of 100 ells at Heliopolis.	Sesoôsis II., son and successor, who was struck blind and miraculously cured. Obelisk of 100 ells at Heliopolis.	Menophtheus (instead of Nencoreus), son of Sethôsis, who was struck blind. Obelisk of the Sun, after his restoration to sight.	Menephthah, the son, xix. 3, confounded with Merri-Phuôris, xx. 1., in whose time Troy was taken (Manetho and Herodotus).
Proteus, the Man of Memphis, who built a magnificent shrine in the temple of Ptah.	Setna (Ketna), the Man of Memphis.	Rhamses, in whose reign Troy was taken.	Ramses III., xxi. 1. (Miamun).
Rhampsinitus, the rich Miser.	Rempsis (instead of Remphis), the rich Miser.	. . . .	Ramses-Neter V., xx. 4.

C.

SHESHONK, THE FOUNDER OF THE TWENTY-SECOND OR FIRST BUBASTITE DYNASTY.

With Sheshonk the historical importance of the monuments ceases, and the consequent necessity of making a

preliminary examination and criticism of them and the parallel traditions. His reign supplies us also with the first certain synchronistic point in Egyptian and Asiatic history. It is now unnecessary to prove the general synchronism between Sheshonk (Sesak) and the son of Solomon. The tables show that the result is the same, whether we begin from the top and follow Manetho's Lists downwards, from the commencement of the chronology of Menophthah (1322), or begin from the bottom and go upwards from one of the fixed points in the later Jewish history as to which there is no dispute, under the guidance of Scripture. All the important particulars about the monuments of his successors, as well as those of the later dynasties, have been already fully stated in the First Book. Sheshonk himself, as might be expected from the Jewish records of him, is there represented as a mighty and warlike king. The construction of the fore-court at Karnak displays not only his love of art, but, mutilated as it is, it furnishes a proof of his having made an expedition to Jerusalem.

The prisoners, with shields on their breasts, are ranged in two vast groups.[143] One contains five rows of thirteen each, making sixty-five; the other four rows of seventeen each, or sixty-eight—133 in all. The greater part is destroyed or illegible. From the portions which are in a tolerable state of preservation the following, in the first division, can be read without the slightest uncertainty:

Land of MAHAN MA (ii. 9.), compared by Rosellini with the MAHANAIM of Jacob (Gen. xxxii. 2 מַחֲנַיִם, i.e. double camp), an ancient city on the northern frontier of the tribe of Gad, to the north of the Jabbok.

Land of BAITAHUARUN (ii. 11.), clearly the BET-HORON

[143] M. R. cxlviii. M. St. iv. 155. seq.

(בֵּית חוֹרוֹן, i. e. the hollow way) of Scripture, a city in the tribe of Ephraim, the lower one of the two of that name. Solomon fortified Beth-horon (2 Chron. viii. 5.) in the vicinity of an important defile.

Land of Maktaû (iii. 1.) מְגִדּוֹ, the Megiddo (Magedo, LXX.) of Scripture, a strong city of Manasseh, on the borders of Issachar, on the Kishon, celebrated for the decisive battle in which Josiah was defeated by Necho, and mortally wounded.

Land of Jutah Malk (iii. 3.) undoubtedly יְהוּדָה מֶלֶךְ, i. e. Judah, King (not King of Judah, which is ungrammatical). A copy of the figure wearing one of these shields is inserted in this book.

Bullmandel & Walton Lithographers

Judah before SESEK

London Longman & Co Paternoster Row

PART III.

THE HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE HEBREWS,

FROM

THE IMMIGRATION OF ABRAHAM
INTO CANAAN,

UNTIL THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH,

COMPARED WITH THE EGYPTIAN
SYNCHRONISMS.

INTRODUCTION.

I.

SURVEY OF THE HEBREW SYNCHRONISMS GENERALLY.

THERE is still in the court of the Palace of Karnak a representation either of the son of Solomon himself, with the tablet on his breast, or of a Jewish figure typifying him, which forms part of the triumphal procession of Sheshonk. The knotty point in the later Jewish synchronisms, the chronology of the Assyrian and Babylonian wars, has been already partially solved when treating of those subjects. As regards Jewish research, the date of their commencement cannot be accurately determined without a previous determination of the date of the commencement of the kingdom. As this depends upon the length of the so-called period of the Judges (the republic of the tribes); so, again, is the definition of that period dependent upon the century, and, if possible, the very year in which the Exodus took place.

The next synchronism which presents itself to our notice in the ascending line is the fifth year of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, and the reign of the chief of the 22nd Dynasty, Sesak or Sheshonk. With our present knowledge of the history of these times this synchronism offers no further difficulty. Even those who despise Egyptology have at last been obliged to admit that Rehoboam is the personage depicted at Karnak as the representative of Judah among the prisoners of Sheshonk.

Our inquiries therefore must necessarily commence

with an event of such signal importance to history in general as the Exodus. We think it is already proved that the Egyptian traditions and monuments will not admit of our placing it earlier than the reign of Menephthah, the son of the Great Ramesses. Upon this assumption, one of the dates of the period of bondage (215 years), based upon biblical data, is explained almost to a year, and the statement relative to the king "who knew not Joseph" likewise becomes perfectly intelligible.

We will now proceed to follow out those researches which have been touched upon above, down to the close of the kingdom of Israel.

We shall then go gradually backwards to the two great historical personages in the early history of the Israelites, or the days of the patriarchs Joseph and Abraham, that is, to the immigration of the Hebrews into Lower Egypt under Jacob and his sons, and previously into Canaan under Abraham.

This latter, the most remote synchronistic point, can likewise be satisfactorily established by the Egyptian annals, upon our assumption of the length of the Hyksos period. Those who have followed us in our Egyptian calculations are aware that the historical character of Abraham can thus, for the first time, be demonstrated, and his chronological position in the history of the world be approximatively determined.

Even if some of the details should be capable of a different and a better explanation, the earlier Jewish history can only be properly admitted within the pale of World-history through the restoration of Egyptian chronology. This is a fact which nothing will be able to gainsay.

II.

RETROSPECT OF THE NOTICES AS TO THE LENGTH OF THE PERIOD FROM THE EXODUS TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

IT cannot be within the province of the critic to prove from Hebrew tradition that the interval from the Exodus to the building of the Temple was between 306 and 310 years.

For it is a settled point that that tradition, as it stands, contains no chronology whatever; it would consequently be absurd to endeavour to prove any thing out of it. The critic, nevertheless, may naturally ask two questions:

First: If the Egyptian monuments and chronologies show that the Exodus must have taken place from 310 to 320 years before the building of the Temple, how are we to account for that same tradition making the interval extend to 440, 480, 593, and even 722 years?

And secondly: Whether the events in the history of Asia or Egypt, so far as known to us at present, are more favourable to our assumption or to any other?

Supposing no satisfactory answer could be given to these questions, the position of the critic would remain just where it is. It would not render the chronology a whit more uncertain, or impair in the slightest degree our respect for the Sacred Books. Chronology is foreign to their purpose and vocation. They relate exactly what tradition or later research enabled their authors to discover in regard to the ancient times. But if a satisfactory explanation could be arrived at, such a result would tell in favour both of Egyptian and Hebrew tradition.

Since my preliminary criticism of Jewish chronology was published, several plans have been proposed for computing the length of this period. One of them is based upon the registers of generations and lists of the high priests. We will first of all test the latter of these, premising, however, that we have always had more hope of getting a clue to the correct chronology by means of the historical narratives themselves. The Book of Joshua, as well as the Book of Judges, contains fragments of the most ancient traditions which have been incorporated into the new version (itself an ancient one), which accounts have been faithfully preserved.

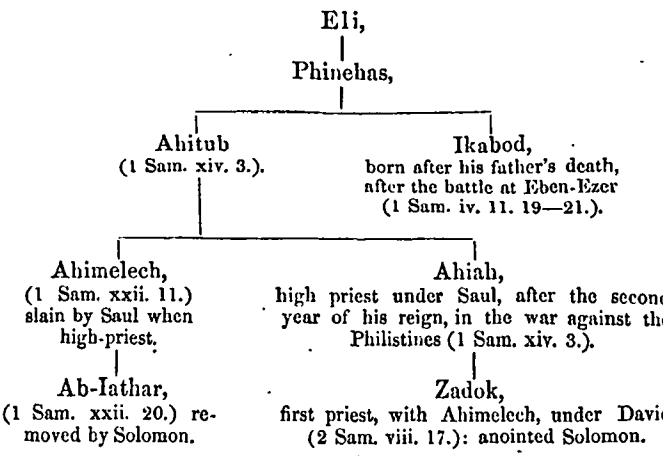
As regards the registers of generations, which we have mentioned as one of the elements of biblical chronology, that of the children of Levi and Aaron (1 Chron. vi.), which is connected with the lists of the high priests, undoubtedly bears the palm over all the rest. These and all the others have been very ably sifted by Lepsius, who has drawn from them conclusions from which, as regards the pre-Aaronic times, we entirely differ, and which can only be adopted with certain limitations as regards the subsequent period. The eleven generations from Aaron to Zadok cannot represent a period of 400 still less 600 years. Supposing them to be complete, they cannot represent the series of high priests, which is no where found in the Bible, unless that office were hereditary in one line by the right of primogeniture. It lasted, without doubt, till the Babylonish captivity in the house of Aaron, as much as possible upon the principle of primogeniture, in one or other of the lines of Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron. A list of the high priests would consequently be a certain measure of the chronology of those times in a general sense, if we could venture to assume that the one which was afterwards adopted by the Jews—from which Josephus and Seder Olam copied them—had any historical warranty. But

how can we believe this when the Chronicles themselves, the latest historical work in the Jewish canon, which carefully record, as far as possible, every thing connected with the priesthood, make no mention of it? Added to which, there are instances, beyond all cavil, of the office of high priest being at that time administered rather in a collegiate form, as will shortly appear in greater detail. It is singular that this list squares as little with the hypothesis of a period of from 440 to 600 years, as do the registers of generations, whereas it accords perfectly with our hypothesis. It may, perhaps, be admitted that the sacred breastplate of the high priest, as well as the tabernacle, the service of which was inseparably combined with it, lasted, without a break, through the stormy times of the Judges. This is implied by the mention of these priests at the tabernacle, which of course is merely a casual remark, and, as Hengstenberg rightly observes, no impartial critic will doubt the fact.[144] Assuming, then, the existence of such a succession, it may be considered as equivalent in those times to a series of generations, just as much so as a succession of hereditary kings. It is true that a high priest was liable to be deprived of his office, but in other respects he was subject to much fewer vicissitudes than a king or a captain of the host. It is clear that the succession by primogeniture was not practicable in all cases. A child or a boy might become king, but not high priest. Under these circumstances the office passed to the nephew, of which there are instances on record. In the time of Saul, David, and Solomon, there were always two appointed conjointly, the high priest proper, and probably his deputy or substitute. There are also instances in those times of their being deprived of their offices. Saul caused Ahimelech, the son of

144 Pentateuch ii. 74. Comp. Selden de Successione in Pontif. i. 10. p. 153., and other passages on the whole subject.

Ahitub the high priest, to be put to death for having given bread to David in the tabernacle, when he was a fugitive. Again, shortly before the time of Ahimelech, after the third year of Saul, his brother Ahiah was chosen high priest. When Solomon came to the throne he removed Ab-Iathar, and appointed in his stead Zadok, who had previously anointed him by command of David (probably as his deputy). Ab-Iathar was removed because he had sided with Absalom.

The following genealogical table gives the entire succession. According to Josephus (Antiq. v. 11.) the line of Ithamar first enjoyed the honour of high priesthood in the person of Eli, and retained it down to Zadok, with whom it passed back to the elder branch, that of Eleazar. The following is taken from the historical books of Scripture:


Eli,
Phinehas,
Ahitub
(1 Sam. xiv. 3.).
Ikabod,
born after his father's death, after the battle at Eben-Ezer (1 Sam. iv. 11. 19—21.).
Ahimelech,
(1 Sam. xxii. 11.) slain by Saul when high-priest.
Ahiah,
high priest under Saul, after the second year of his reign, in the war against the Philistines (1 Sam. xiv. 3.).
Ab-Iathar,
(1 Sam. xxii. 20.) removed by Solomon.
Zadok,
first priest, with Ahimelech, under David (2 Sam. viii. 17.): anointed Solomon.

It is clear then, that as Ahiah and Ahimelech represent one generation, so also do Ab-Iathar and Zadok, or as a cousin would have done in both cases. Now Josephus states that from Aaron to Zadok[145] inclusive there were 13 priests; but this number can only be obtained by reckoning Ahimelech and Ahiah, Ab-Iathar

[145] Antiq. xx. 9.; comp. x. 8. Comp. Lepsius' Einleitung, p. 274.; comp. p. 368.

and Zadok, as 4. Lepsius, therefore, is quite right in considering these 13 as equivalent to 11 generations, which, on an average of 30 years, would make 330, of 33, 366 years. We must not, however, forget that Aaron himself cannot have many years computed to him, as we shall see more in detail hereafter.

The second period which can be computed is that from the appointment of Zadok, the high priest of Solomon, to the carrying away of Jehoiadah, the high priest under Zedekiah. This comprises 414 years, assuming Zadok (who from the above must have been far advanced in years) to have lived to 1010 B.C., or 424 years, if he lived 10 years longer (17 after his appointment). Josephus gives a list of 17 high priests belonging to this period (according to his own names, though he says 18 in the text). Supposing Jehoiadah to have held office about half his average term, when Nebuchadnezzar put an end to the temple-service, we have in something more than 400 years, 16½ high priests, averaging 22 years each. But supposing the circumstances to have been similar to those in the other case, these 17 would represent at most 13 or 14 generations, which would make the average of that period 30 to 31 years.

The result of the examination of these registers of generations and successions is at variance with the ordinary hypothesis, but in perfect conformity with our own.

Here then we take leave of the calculations, which never can be any thing more than approximative, and proceed to consider the positive chronological data which the historical books of the Jews supply for that period.

This we propose to divide for our present purpose into three historical sections:

The times of Moses and Joshua;
The so-called time of the Judges and the Kings of the undivided kingdom;
The time of the Kings of the divided kingdom.

SECTION I.

THE DETERMINATION OF THE PERIOD FROM THE EXODUS TO THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.

A.

THE TIMES OF MOSES AND JOSHUA, AND THE TIME WHEN THERE WERE NO JUDGES.

I. The Exodus, and the Chronology from the Departure out of the Land of Gosen down to Eighteen Years after the Death of Joshua.

The connected narrative in the last four books of Moses implies that he died on Mount Habarim, close to the eastern edge of the northern point of the Dead Sea, in the fortieth year of the Exodus, the same year, according to this account, in which he arrived there. But mention is also made of several protracted conquests having been accomplished during his time. The whole land of the Emorites on this side the Jabbok was taken possession of, and their allies the Midianites were utterly overthrown. The army, indeed, passed the Jabbok, and conquered the land of the King of Basan and the western country on the Jordan (Batanæa and Aulonitis) eastward and northward as far as Hermon, that is, as far as the entire northern frontier of the later Jewish state. We have no chronological data whatever as to any of these conquests. But some light is thrown upon them by the very fact of these expeditions having

lasted several years. This is still more true in considering their internal arrangements. We learn that after passing over Jordan, two tribes and a half, about a fourth of the two millions or two millions and a half of souls, were firmly settled in the country on the other side of it. But to make such a distribution of the territory, and a regular settlement in it, required no inconsiderable number of years. When, therefore, we learn from the historical account that Joshua led the people over Jordan forty years after the Exodus, that is assuredly an historical number, and not, as in other instances, merely a mode of expressing an indefinite number of years. But it is equally certain that they could not have reached the frontier of the country east of Jordan only in the fortieth year after the Exodus, but must have done so as early as the third year, an inference resulting from the facts of the journey through the Peninsula of Sinai. The career of Moses closed on the northern point of the Dead Sea, over against Jericho. The position of Mount Pisgah is clear from the description, as well as from its retaining its old name down to the time of Eusebius. The larger portion of those thirty-seven years and a half must therefore be assigned to Joshua.

But there are further proofs that his leadership on the other side Jordan commenced long before they crossed over. In the first place, the name of Moses is never mentioned in any expeditions beyond the northern points of the Dead Sea. Joshua's campaigns in Canaan and the consequent settlement of the other seven tribes and a half, according to the express testimony of old tradition, only lasted five or six years. As Ewald has sagaciously remarked, this follows from the words of Caleb, in the Book of Joshua (xiv. 7—10.; comp. last verse). The land had rest, it is said; each tribe had taken possession of its own inheritance, and the borders of each were marked out. Caleb was at that

time eighty-five, and forty-five years had elapsed since Moses sent him into the Promised Land as a spy. Now, as according to the consistent narrative of the compiler, the journeying of Moses had lasted forty years at the time of his death, five (or rather six) years must have elapsed since the second year of the Exodus, in which Caleb was sent out.

From that time forward nothing definite is related of Joshua's acts or arrangements from the old authentic source. The addition made to the course of the historical narrative is doubtless actually true; but these occurrences did not take place during the life of Joshua, but immediately after the great leader's death.

If then we admit, as we are bound to do, the forty years between the Exodus and the entrance into Canaan Proper, that is, the country westward of Jordan, as a fixed chronological date, the greater part of the above thirty-seven years and a half must be assigned to Joshua.

The Bible notoriously assigns no date to the leadership of Joshua, or to the period when the tribes were without any common leader or direction.

Josephus, on the contrary, gives very distinct dates for both these epochs. These must either be pure inventions or be derived from some ancient strictly historical records. Reference is often made to such records in the historical books of Scripture, which indeed aver themselves to be extracts or compilations from some larger work.

Josephus assigns

To Joshua, after the death of Moses - -	25 years,
To the intervening period before the Mesopotamian supremacy commenced. - -	18 years.

The biblical accounts indicate clearly enough that these periods together occupied the time of a generation. The next epoch, that of the supremacy of

Mesopotamia, only commenced after the death of the elders, "who lived long after Joshua;" a remark which occurs not only at the end of the later detailed narrative (Josh. xxiv. 14—31.), but which is also repeated word for word in the older short account (Judges ii. 7.). The indefinite, and consequently unhistorical, dates in these books are moreover always round numbers, based in fact upon the unit of forty years, as being the length of a generation; for instance, forty, twenty, eighty—a generation, a half generation, two generations.

The old tradition, which was committed to writing at an early stage, must have contained several such dates; it is more than probable even, as Lepsius has pointed out, that the key to the whole period between the Exodus and the building of the temple was not lost in Hillel's time.

As regards the twenty-five years of Joshua, nothing is said as to how many belong to his leadership on this side Canaan, how many in Canaan itself. From what has been stated above, however, we shall not be justified in concluding that he lived more than one year in Canaan after the tribes were established in the country on this side Jordan, Canaan Proper — consequently seven years.

Eighteen, therefore, of his twenty-five years must belong to the period of his administration on the other side.

The only mode of defining chronologically the personal leadership of Moses is to limit it by the traditional notice of the length of the leadership of Joshua. As the latter lasted eighteen years over Jordan, there remain twenty-two for the personal leadership of Moses. Of these, the whole of the first two after the Exodus, and the greater part of the third, belong to the journeyings backwards and forwards in the Peninsula of Sinai. There remain, therefore, nineteen entire years for the gradual conquest and settlement of the country

east of Jordan to beyond the northern point of the Dead Sea.

Now, in what relation do these historical forty years before the passing over Jordan stand to the prophecy in the Book of Numbers (xiv. 20—24.), compared with the further details at verse 26—35.? It is as follows:

"And the Lord said, I have pardoned, according to thy word: But as truly as I live, all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord. Because all those men which have seen my glory, and my miracles which I did in Egypt, and in the wilderness, have tempted me now these ten times, and have not hearkened unto my voice; surely they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them that provoked me see it: But my servant Caleb, because he had another spirit with him, and hath followed me fully, him will I bring into the land whereunto he went; and his seed shall possess it."

The only foundation for the hypothesis of the forty years in the wilderness, as well as for the restriction of the expression, "*in the wilderness*," to the desert in the Peninsula, is this prophecy. Upon such an interpretation of it there would not be quite a whole year remaining for the conquest of the country beyond Jordan. For it was only at the latter end of the last year that the Israelites reached the border of the Jewish territory east of Jordan, about five months before the close of this supposed fortieth year. But this prophecy, when considered without prejudice, and even giving to it the widest sense, says nothing more than that no Israelite, with the exception of Joshua and Caleb, shall see the Promised Land. There is here no connexion whatever between the life of Moses and the forty years, but merely with the fact of the people not entering the Promised Land. The above general interpretation of

the prophecy, however, is very doubtful. The declaration of Jehovah refers to the ten men who accompanied Joshua and Caleb on their mission to Canaan. The utmost historical meaning it can bear in this connexion is, that the generation of grown up persons who came out of Egypt as men, and who were then yearning after Egypt again, should die without entering into Canaan. It must indeed be understood, in reference to divine justice, as especially applicable to the authors of the rebellion which then broke out, and to their contemporaries who were especially active in it. The young men of the people under twenty years of age are excepted by name. The passage even in the Book of Judges (ii. 7.) already quoted says that there were other elders, besides Joshua and Caleb, who lived some time after passing over Jordan, and that several of them outlived Joshua: "And the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord that He did for Israel." This implies that many of the elders, i. e. of the leaders of the people, outlived Joshua, and a considerable time too. Others of the people necessarily therefore did so likewise. At the end of forty years, however, the heroes of the Exodus, who had fought against Amalek and overcome all resistance, must assuredly all of them have been more than sixty when they passed over Jordan. "The days of our years are threescore years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore years," says the ninetieth psalm, which is attributed to Moses. Taking them as a body, therefore, that generation had already passed away, although some others besides Joshua and Caleb were still living. The prophetic utterance of Moses at the critical moment at Kadesh, when the people wanted to go back to Egypt, was completely fulfilled.

It forms no part of this subject to carry out these views in detail, or to explain the journeyings in the

Arabian desert during their sojourn of two and a half years in the Peninsula. For the illustration of these points I venture to refer my readers to my translation and exposition of the Bible, a portion of which has already appeared.

We will conclude the allusions here made with a tabular survey of the forty years and the leadership of Joshua.

The Forty Years of the Exodus and Conquest.

1. *The Forty Years of the Exodus, and the Wanderings to the Jordan.*

Years of the Exodus.		
I.	1320.	15th Nisan: Exodus from Egypt.
II.	1319.	"2nd month:" Departure from Sinai.
III.	1318.	"1st month:" Death of Miriam. Journey from Kadesh to Akaba. One month's rest at Hor (period of mourning).
„	„	Towards the middle of the year: Arrival at the brook Zered, on the eastern edge of the southern point of the Dead Sea.
IV.	1317.	The advance to beyond the northern point of the Dead Sea, over against Jericho.
V.	1316.	
VI.	1315.	
XXII.	1299.	End of the leadership of Moses.
XXIII.	1298.	The first year of Joshua's leadership (18 years).
XL.	1281.	The last (18th) year of Joshua, in the land east of Jordan. Completion of the conquest and settlement.

End of the forty years, from the Exodus to the Entrance into Canaan, six years after the last campaign of Ramses III. in Canaan (1287).

2. *The First Seven Years in Canaan.*

Years of the Exodus.		
XLI.	1280.	Joshua's passage over Jordan.
XLII.	1279.	Joshua's six years' war in Canaan.
XLIII.	1278.	
XLIV.	1277.	
XLV.	1276.	
XLVI.	1275.	
XLVII.	1274.	Death of Joshua, in the twenty-fifth year of his leadership, the forty-seventh of the Exodus.

If we add to these the 18 intervening years before the Mesopotamian supremacy, we arrive at the year 1256, the 65th after the Exodus. This is the last year that the people were in a state of undisputed independence, before the transition from a republican to a monarchical government. Of the 306 years (1320—1014) to the commencement of the fourth year of Solomon there remain therefore 241: of these, as we shall see, 66 belong to the time of the Kings — 22 to Saul, 41 to David, 3 to Solomon, — which added to the 65 after the Exodus make 131. For the time of the Judges, therefore, i. e. the time of the foreign supremacy, when the struggle was constantly renewed under valiant leaders and a certain sort of independence existed under a loose federal government, 175 remain. We have now to show in detail that the historical traditions of the times of the Judges enable us really to estimate the period at this number of years, with that amount of probability which a cautious investigator has a right to expect, and that the ordinary calculation is as unauthorised by the Scripture accounts, as it is irreconcilable with general history.

II. General Historical Elucidation of the Period of the Exodus, and Entrance into Canaan, from the Egyptian Point of View.

We have seen that, according to the general history of Asia and of Egypt, the period between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple cannot have been much more than 300 years.

The lines of demarcation are sharply drawn on both sides. We must refer to the chapter on the chronology of the Kings, for proof that the year of the Building of the Temple, the fourth of Solomon's reign, must be exactly and positively the year 1014 before our era. This is ascertained by the agreement between a simple and logical criticism of the notices of the Jewish kings of the divided kingdom, and the dates of Assyrian and Egyptian history, some of which are astronomically determined. It is, however, so nearly in accordance with the ordinary hypothesis, that we may venture to take this point for granted.

But the starting-point, about which I was by no means clear at the outset of this work, has since then been so indisputably connected with the reign of Menephthah, the son of Ramses II., by Lepsius' thorough investigation and lucid exposition of the subject, that there can be no question as to a difference of more than two or three years. It appears from the researches in the third, and especially from those in the present Book, that he must of necessity have been king at the commencement of the last historical Sothiac cycle in 1322. Hence it follows that the first year of Menephthah cannot have been later than 1322. It would, of course, be a mere accident, if this should turn out to be the very first year of his reign. The period commencing with a new Sothiac cycle might equally well be called that of Menophthes, even if it occurred towards the close of his reign.

But, under actual circumstances, the Exodus must have taken place in the first years of Menephthah, because, in the Egyptian annals, thirteen years are occupied with internal disturbances and the invasion of the Palestinians, prominent among which occurrences are the Exodus and the preceding movements of the Israelites, terminating in the withdrawal of at least two millions of souls, according to positive data, the fighting men among them having armed themselves in secret.

Now, as Menephthah reigned nineteen or twenty years, and, before these had elapsed, returned from Ethiopia with a son of eighteen and recovered his throne, the Exodus cannot certainly be placed later than 1317, or the ninth year of his reign from 1325. For it took place concurrently with the invasion of the Palestinians, as those notices state, and as the history of the Exodus intimates at least. It was brought about in consequence of the harsh and cruel oppression and persecution of the professors of another faith, which the same Pharaoh, who was a superstitious bigot, had systematically practised for several years. But, independently of this, these negotiations, the secret armament and interviews, cannot have claimed less than one or two years. Taking all these circumstances into consideration, we cannot reckon the portion of Menephthah's reign prior to the Exodus at less than between four and six years. It is obvious from the whole account in the Book of Exodus that it did not happen in the first years of it. Moses returned from the Peninsula of Sinai whither he had fled, after the death of the king during whose reign his flight took place. This first tyrant therefore was Ramses II. Moses now sees that the system of oppression is aggravated, he witnesses the unavailing complaints and despair of the people, and then he receives the Divine mission to set them free. Serious plagues occur, and repeated entreaties are made, and proofs are evinced of the power of the Spirit which

was in Moses. Fresh interviews take place with Jethro at Sinai, everything in short which forms part of a silent but universal conspiracy, the object of which was to throw off an intolerable foreign yoke. All this required time.

Lepsius has fully established that, either by accident or as an isolated tradition, the Exodus is placed in the Jewish Book of Seder Olam in the year 1314.

Our period must therefore be restricted within 306 years, from 1320 to 1014.

Again, the time of the Judges is limited, both backwards and forwards.

We have pointed out that there are good grounds for supposing that the anarchy which broke out on the death of Joshua, that is, the breaking up of the whole constitution, terminated in the 65th year of the Exodus; consequently, if the latter took place in 1320, in the year 1256.

The reigns of Saul and David, however, with the addition of the first three years of Solomon, comprised 66 years. Deducting therefore 65+66, or 131 years, from these 306, there remain 175 for the so-called time of the Judges; i. e. from the time when the Israelites became tributary to the Assyrians, in the 19th year after the death of Joshua, to the end of the supremacy of the Philistines and the judgeship of Samuel, when Saul was elected king. Favourable circumstances however occasionally occurred, during which this foreign supremacy was suspended, and they enjoyed a respite from the state of tribute, and short periods of independence. During these revolts, or the breathing time which they obtained from them, we may suppose there were Judges, either general or special, for Canaan and the country east of Jordan, who represented, together with the high priest, the unity of the people in itself, and more especially as regarded their relations with other nations when they were in a state of subjection. The

Judge was a Hebrew governor, recognised as such by the dominant powers, as was afterwards the case in the instance of Nehemiah.

Now, if it should turn out that the dates and facts in the Book of Judges, which have evidently been transmitted as historical, cannot be compressed within the limits here assigned to them, the solution of the problem must be abandoned.

If, on the contrary, it should appear that these limits correspond exactly with the traditional dates and facts, and by the application indeed of a simple method of arrangement, we may consider it as a hopeful sign for the investigation generally, and a guarantee that a perfectly certain solution of the principal points has been obtained. In a word, that, in reference to the biblical narrative, the tradition which forms the groundwork of it is strictly historical, although it was from an early period misunderstood.

III. FURTHER HISTORICAL ELUCIDATION. EXPLANATION OF TWO CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE HITHERTO BEEN UNINTELLIGIBLE IN THE HISTORY OF THE JOURNEYING THROUGH THE PENINSULA.

THE Exodus is an historical fact which occurred in an historical age, and was governed by notorious great events, and circumstances of importance to general history. Such are also the conquest of the country east of Jordan, and the occupation of Canaan, which was peopled by brave and warlike races. In attempting to understand and explain the connected narrative transmitted to us, in accordance with this and the nature of the sources from which it was supplied, we find ourselves obliged to take into serious consideration certain grave questions which, in the course of it, offer themselves to the notice of the honest and cautious investigator. He cannot in these times make what is incredible credible by theological miracles, nor be silenced by the authoritative dicta of certain German critics who are still in-

fected with a morbid mania for myths. For from the very fact (which Aristotle was obliged to remark upon) of theologians taking no account of cause and effect, nor allowing any to be taken, they destroy all faith in the historic truth of a glorious foretime, and deprive the history of our race of its brightest ornaments. These new-fashioned mythologers, however, frequently conceal, under the perplexing charm of the word myth, a lamentable amount of superficial prejudiced criticism. The only difference between their decisions and those of their theological predecessors is in the direction which they give to them.

The historical investigator, who has merely to deal with real histories and historical realities, will neither be afraid of old women's prejudices, nor shrink from the labour which careful research demands of him. The elevated goal he has in view, the discovery of truth, is his compensation for persecution and contempt, and encourages him to reflect and to meditate, which the two above-mentioned systems frivolously, not to say mischievously, eschew.

The readers of a philosophical work or a history will not fail to ask for an explanation how it was that a king of Egypt, possessing a large army which a few centuries before had made all Asia to tremble, incalculable treasures, and a well organised system of administration, did not pursue the Jews still farther, and annihilate them in the wilderness? Why he did not attack them during the two years and a half in which they wandered backwards and forwards, apparently without a plan, in the Peninsula of Sinai, where the Pharaohs had had a firm footing for centuries, nay, thousands of years, and which was subject to the Pharaonic power of Ramses II. just as much as Libya was, and more even than Palestine.

I hardly think they will be satisfied with the simple

answer that Pharaoh and his host were all overwhelmed in the Red Sea.

If there is any historical fact well established it is this — that, however great the loss sustained by the Egyptians in horses and riders in their hasty pursuit through the foaming waves, the Pharaoh himself did not perish; and we are not authorised in stretching the expressions in the connected epic narrative of the Book of Exodus beyond the limits of the original authority which has been faithfully transmitted to us, the song of praise of Moses and Miriam. Admitting, however, that the Pharaoh did perish, what prevented his successor from avenging so disgraceful a defeat? These war chariots and riders collected in such haste could have formed but a very small part of the Egyptian forces. The question remains where it was, and it can only be answered by the circumstances of the world at that time.

Chronology compels us to assume that the Palestinian hordes made their incursion contemporaneously with the Exodus. There is no time for any considerable interval between the two events. Their invasion and dominion were merely the conclusion of those formidable movements which lasted 13 years, in anticipation of which, according to the Egyptian accounts, the seer or statesman of the weak-minded king put an end to himself in despair, in order not to be a witness of inevitable disasters. It is matter of indifference whether he did so or not, and whether he really foresaw the calamities and their duration. Assuming them to be both inventions, they were inventions in consequence of actual occurrences, and that is all with which we have any concern. To the student of history the evidence in that case is all the more conclusive. The number 13 is not one of the mythical dates with which Strauss and Baur deal as frivolously as Hengstenberg.

We are not called upon to assume that Moses and his fellow-conspirators, who evidently had quietly made the preparations necessary in the Peninsula to insure the success of their vast undertaking, called in to their assistance those cognate tribes. Manetho himself says nothing of the kind, he simply says they were the Hyksos races, who had been previously expelled. There can be no doubt that the Hyksos Kings of the earlier part of the Hyksos period were Arabs. The Hyksos of the 15th Dynasty (260 years) have Arabic names, and they correspond exactly with the rule of the Malika (Amalekites), which, according to Arab tradition, lasted 300 years in Egypt. For Manetho states that the first reign of this dynasty was preceded by a period when there was no king, and the conquering tribes had the mastery; during which the Egyptian annals continued to enumerate their own Pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty. The Arab tradition of 300 years, therefore, approaches very nearly the genuine chronological date, and this may have been the sum total of Africanus, which cannot be accounted for by the dates of the kings of that dynasty, namely, 284.

On the other hand the second Hyksos dynasty is decidedly Palestinian. The ruling tribe were Palestinians. We see indeed that they considered Pelusium as their principal city, and that, after the convention with Tuthmōsis, they settled in Southern Palestine. This coincidence is an important one; first, as a fact in the general history of those times, and as throwing further light on that obscure period; and, secondly, as an explanation of the great catastrophe of the Babylonian empire under Menephthah, in which the Exodus of the Israelites forms but a transient episode. The events which were passing in Lower Egypt were naturally known in Southern Palestine by means of the caravans. The Israelites had made no secret of their wish to withdraw, and Pharaoh, in spite of his orthodox

superstition, was clearly placed in great perplexity thereby.

The Palestinian races invaded Egypt. We can neither be surprised nor led astray by Manetho's statement that they came from Jerusalem, considering the general ignorance of the old world about the Jews, an ignorance which was shared even by a Tacitus. The invasion and then disastrous occupation of the country were disgraceful events, which the Egyptian writer recorded simply because they were inscribed with characters of blood in the pages of the history of his country and people.

This fact, and this alone, is a satisfactory answer to the above question.

The same Providence which in a moment of imminent peril had delivered the chosen people, *the* people of mankind, also protected them from pursuit and molestation during the next two years. And does not this fact also offer the only explanation of a circumstance hitherto almost unnoticed, which occurred at the beginning of the third year, but which must certainly have given many an earnest inquirer serious cause for reflection? I mean the incontrovertible resolution of the people, when encamped at Kadesh-Barnea on the frontier of Southern Palestine, to return to Egypt. What? The people who had witnessed the giving of the Law on the mountain of the Lord, who had fought valiantly and victoriously against Amalek, and were also jealous to excess of their republican liberty! Is it possible that this people, after so many wonderful deliverances, could forget in two short years the shame of bondage, the torment of slavery, the murder of their children, and the pangs of their wives and sisters, to such an extent that they yearned again for the chains which they had rent asunder by their valour and with their blood?

The whole narrative is a fable, or this is impossible. Kadesh-Barnea was only five days' march from the

border of Egypt. It was known, therefore, in the camp what was passing there. The people had no wish to return to bondage. Their object rather was to share the rich booty with their kindred tribes, and with them to take signal vengeance on the dark children of Ham, instead of struggling with daily privations on the confines of an inhospitable land, and without having any end or object in view.

Here lay the great peril and difficulty which Moses had to encounter. This wonderfully great man certainly must have felt the same ardent longing for the freedom of his people, which more than a 1000 years afterwards inspired Mattathias and his heroic sons, especially Judas Maccabeus. But it was not for the mere sake of throwing off this external bondage that he had instigated them to revolt and withdraw from Egypt. His higher aim was to deliver them from the bondage of a debasing superstition, when he impressed upon them the moral law as a national law, and awakened in them the consciousness of the eternal connexion between the spirit of man and the Divinity. There exists no moral law for a nation of slaves.

This work, commenced with so much enthusiasm, and carried out with a patience truly divine, was in infinitely greater jeopardy from the Israelites combining with the other idolatrous kindred races, who were steeped in the grossest sensuality, against the Egyptians, than it was from the bondage itself with all its debasing accompaniments. This was the danger which preyed upon his mind to its inmost core.

Hence the sudden resolve to push on at once round the Gulf of Akaba into the country north of Jordan, instead of negotiating any longer with the Edomites. It was evident that the direct road to Canaan was impossible, owing to the difficulties to be encountered. The course adopted was, therefore, the only possible

one, consequently he was sure of deliverance by it, for God's work could not fall to the ground.

Hence, also, the serious importance which attached to their momentary vacillation. Instead of destroying the mutineers without hesitation or mercy, as happened to Korah and his company, and afterwards to the instigators of the rebellion, Moses and Aaron threw themselves upon their faces to pray for enlightenment. That was an act of pusillanimity, culpable doubt as to their divine vocation, which had been confirmed by so many deliverances. It was an act of faithlessness which nothing could repair. It was the reason indeed why Moses did not enter into the Land of Promise.

In this manner every feature in the biblical narrative is made clear. The foundation of it is historical, and it requires an historical explanation.

IV. THE PROOF THAT JOSHUA'S CONQUEST OF CANAAN COULD NOT HAVE TAKEN PLACE BEFORE 1280, OR AFTER 1260.

IT results from our chronological computations, without any reference to the connexion between Joshua's conquest and the history of those nations at that time, that it must have taken place within the five years between 1274 and 1270.

But, in truth, the Egyptian monuments which record the victories of Ramses III., the date of which is astronomically established within a very few years, only admit of the possibility of such a conquest after the year 1280, in which he overran Canaan as a conqueror, and took Tyre, as the walls of Medinet-Habu, on the western side of Thebes, still testify.

How could it have been made when, in consequence of a great conqueror having sprung up on the Tigris in the year 1273, a vast empire was founded in Assyria, which had rendered Egypt tributary as early as 1257?

We have fixed both these events chronologically, and

have also illustrated them without reference to the biblical histories of the Exodus and the occupation of Canaan, so that it is unnecessary here to discuss them any further.

Is it possible that the coincidence which exists between three different investigations, carried out independently of each other, can be accidental?

The Scripture narrative loses nothing by being placed in juxtaposition with general history. Its clear stream flows on unmixed through the troubled waters of all the people-histories of the 14th and 13th centuries. It neither loses its solemnity by being intelligible, nor its charm by being credible. It may do so in the eyes of the scoffer and theologian. Here, however, we have nothing to do either with the one or the other; we have merely to deal with the serious, but unfettered and consequently rational, domain of history.

Earlier chronologers took their duties more easily, and might do so even to a certain extent. The history of those times was an open field, like our map of Africa fifty years ago, dotted about with a few isolated, extraordinary, and romantic figures. Asia itself, the land of primeval civilisation, was an uninscribed tablet. Moses and Joshua were carried hither and thither, where people pleased and when they pleased.

Now the case is altered. Centuries, and even decades, are filled with facts and events. Shadows become persons; legends reality; and fables remain fables, the delusions mere phantoms. The Western Asia of those days especially has fixed lines drawn through it, there is a limit to conjectures which run counter to the state of the times. For anything which cannot be made to dovetail into them there is no place. But, on the other hand, whatever does fit in is brought, not by accident, into its proper connexion, and into living communion. It is like a limb which has been reset, which comes into its right place because it shows that it possesses vital powers.

It is brought into the eternal connexion of cause and effect.

Chronology makes an opening for history, but history must not only give life to chronology, she must also confirm it. When she does this, we may confidently acquire belief in them both.

But the most palpable evidence, that which is derived from the turn of events immediately after the conquest of Canaan and the death of Joshua, has not yet been taken into account.

V. THE ONLY SATISFACTORY EXPLANATION THAT CAN BE GIVEN OF THE SUDDEN REVERSE OF THE POSITION OF THE ISRAELITES IN CANAAN IS THE CONTEMPORANEOUS RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

THE doubts which have been thrown upon the actual truth of the narrative in the Book of Joshua and the first chapters of Judges, in respect to Joshua's occupation of a large portion of Canaan, the settlement of the five tribes and a half within their historical borders, and the consolidation and extension of that conquest immediately after Joshua's death, have been triumphantly overcome by the searching criticisms of the historical school. The very discrepancies between the original documents from which that narrative was compiled in its subsequent systematic and epic form, and the present text, are equally strong arguments in favour of its truthfulness, as is the general accordance between them. The enumeration in the 12th chapter of Joshua of the thirty-one kings or chiefs who were subdued by him is either a contemporaneous, or what is equivalent to a contemporaneous, authority. It omits various details which are found in the other account obtained doubtless from popular legends and ballads, while it contains the names of the kings and their territories which are not given in the other, although they are perfectly correct both geographically and historically.

In an enumeration of names and places such as this there is no poetical element. It must of necessity be either strictly true, or an impudent fabrication. It is clear that it cannot be the latter, from the authentic account given of the state of the country when they took possession of it in the 1st chapter of the Book of Judges; in the 12th verse of which an episode is introduced relating to the personal history of Caleb, which contains evidently original traits, and where mention is made of Kirjath-Sepher (the city of writing). We thus see that the hostile relations which had existed between the Israelites and the native Canaanites, who were not exterminated, had resolved itself in the low countries into one of tribute and subjection. In these but few cities or districts had been captured, but of those which were captured not one was recovered. The Canaanites agreed to recognise the Israelites as the lords of the land, and were satisfied to hold under them according to a stipulated arrangement. Hence it appears that towards the middle of the eighteen years immediately following the death of Joshua, when there was no unity among the tribes, that is, from 1273 to 1256, they were still recognised as the dominant power in Canaan. The two tribes and a half, who were settled on the other side Jordan, formed indeed, like a living wall, a stronger barrier than the river itself against the inroads of the Arabs and other cognate Eastern races into the Land of Promise. Ten years after, in 1246, we find them tributary to a Mesopotamian satrap, about whom we shall shortly have occasion to offer some further remarks. They remained, moreover, in this state of subjection and dependence, at the mercy of their neighbours by whom they were plundered and annoyed, for 175 years. Saul not only found the whole army disbanded, but even their arms and the smiths removed. During this period they seemed to have enjoyed a respite for thirty years at most, and

these at distant intervals of short duration. Occasionally a hero, or man of God, sprang up among the people, who attacked the tyrant, defeated his troops, repelled the inroads of the invading hordes, and disappeared again in a short time, barely leaving a trace behind him. All is unchanged except the names of those to whom they paid tribute; the loss of freedom, the oppression, the insecurity of their relations, remained the same.

Under David Israel rose again to the same height of power in which Joshua had left them; their boundaries indeed were considerably extended towards the north, the south, and the east, but that only for a short time.

However much of this may be explained by the inconceivable imperfection (unexampled as it was in the old world) of their federal constitution, without federal law or federal tribunals, without native leaders or a federal council; however much may be ascribed to their relapse into the barbarous demoralising nature-worship of the Canaanites; all this, even, is insufficient to account for the two phenomena above alluded to, the sudden reverse of all their relations in Canaan, and their continued loss of independence.

But when we recollect that the empire of Nineveh, which was founded in the year 1273, the year after they passed the Jordan, had in the next sixteen years, down to 1257, extended itself over the whole of Western Asia, as far as Syria and Palestine, indeed to Egypt itself, all becomes intelligible.

A vast empire, the strength of which consisted in a numerous and warlike army and the defenceless condition of all its neighbours, must have paralysed a rising state. As long as that supremacy lasted, there could be no prospect of its vitality being restored.

All the populations and tribes of Canaan were necessarily hostile to the invading Israelites. The feeling of revenge was strengthened by hatred of the Jewish peo-

ple, who kept haughtily aloof from all other people and from their gods. Despotism was then in its infancy as an art of government, that is, as the art of suppressing liberty by police force, and committing illegal acts with a certain semblance of legality. But it was aware, from the instincts at all times inherent in it, that the easiest mode of governing is by creating divisions, and that the most certain mode of destroying another's life is by a brother's hand. Semiramis, the mighty conqueror, according to a popular story which there is no reason to question, was not an Assyrian by birth, but a Philistine from Askalon, be the romantic circumstances of her childhood as they may. She first appeared, at the court and with the army, as the wife of the Assyrian satrap of Mesopotamia or Syria. She was, therefore, of the same race as those nations which were thirsting for vengeance, and which the Israelites had neither been able to conciliate, nor extirpate or subdue. She was withal fanatical for the bloody and profane worship of the Fish-goddess Derketo.

Under such circumstances can we wonder that the state of things in Israel was as we find it, without being told why it was so?

We shall learn the details from the dispositions made during the period of the Judges, to which we now proceed. We must bear in mind the following historical facts at the same time, which occurred during the first sixty-five years:

First: The Exodus can only have occurred between 1324 and 1320 (between the second and sixth years of Menephthah), according to the authentic history of the House of the Ramessides and of Egypt of which we are in possession.

Secondly: Their remaining undisturbed in the Peninsula can only be explained by the circumstance of Egypt being then (as its contemporaneous annals

inform us) engaged in severe contests, and subjected to an iron bondage.

Thirdly: The great turning-point in the history of the journey and of the people is the departure from Kadesh, after their resolution to go back to Egypt had been with difficulty overcome.

Fourthly: Canaan could neither have been conquered seven years earlier than 1280, nor seven years later: the former, on account of the Egyptian expedition to Palestine; the latter, on account of the power of Assyria, which, as early as 1257, extended to Syria, Phœnicia, and even Egypt. The conquest of Canaan and the loss of their unity took place between this extension of the Assyrian power and the passing over Jordan, which certainly required more than fifteen years.

Fifthly: These conjunctures offer the only explanation of the sudden failure of the great work so grandly and so successfully commenced, and of the total decay and dissolution of the independent power of Israel in Asia for almost 200 years, indeed for ever, with the exception of a few lucid intervals.

Sixthly: The whole narrative is strictly true throughout, but we possess only shreds and fragments of the external historical portions. The Exodus forms an episode in a vast tragical, political, and religious struggle, internal and external, between Egypt and to a certain extent that part of Africa bordering on the Nile, and Western Asia; which episode has only been transmitted to us in books which, owing to the higher object they had in view, touch but lightly, or not at all, on the external history and immediate causes of the events.

This is not the place for entering into these views in detail: but the evidence adduced will not only suffice to establish the correctness of our chronology of Jewish

as well as Egyptian history, but also to explain the events which have been adjusted according to it, and of which the mutual action has been established.

B.

THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES, AND THOSE OF SAUL AND DAVID.

I. Principle and Method.[146]

The previous observations have not only supplied us with the chronological framework for the period between the death of Joshua and the institution of monarchical government, but have also shown us the historical elements of vitality and power which must be taken into account during this epoch of 200 years.

It has been shown in the First Book how impossible it is to adjust existing dates from themselves alone, so as to form a chronological, and still less an historical, whole. An extraneous framework was required, in order to justify any hope of succeeding in the attempt to extricate the historical facts from the confusion of two series of dates having no connexion with each other.

The simplest plan will obviously be this: gradually to apportion the period of 175 years between the Judges and the Monarchy down to the Building of the Temple, and then to see what is the conclusion to be drawn from the different possible assumptions. Such of them as produce an impossible result within the given period must be at once rejected. If truth can be discovered at all, it will come out of itself when the inadmissible hypotheses have been abandoned. Two prelimi-

[146] Compare for this and the following chronological chapters the synchronistic tables of my Bible-work, vol. i.

nary conditions are indispensable: first, that all the dates which are obviously historical shall be taken into account; and then that the whole result obtained through them will stand the test of history. For if we give up the dates we lose all hold on chronology; while on the other hand, if they lead to any conclusion at variance with history, all the dates in the world will not help us. We might indeed insist upon a third condition: that an explanation should be given as to how the present tradition could have grown out of an historical one, without abandoning the tradition of Scripture, which is thoroughly historical and honest.

This will be illustrated by a closer inspection of the first group of dates after the eighteen years during which the Israelites were in a state of disunion.

Dates between the Time when they first became tributary and the Death of Gideon.

	Yrs.	Yrs.
Supremacy of Mesopotamia (Kusan-Ris'hathaim) - - - -		8
Othniel defeats Kusan-Ris'hathaim: the land at rest - - - -	40	
Supremacy of Moab - - -		18
Ehud defeats Eglon: the land at rest -	80	
Supremacy of Jabin: Northern Canaan at rest - - - - -		20
Barak and Deborah defeat his army: Deborah Judge - - - -	40	
Supremacy of Midian - - -		7
Gideon defeats the Midianites: Judge -	40	
Generations: 1+2+1+1 =	5	
Four periods of subjection -		53

We may, in the first place, confidently state that the idea of the years of independence, reckoned by generations of forty years, being added to the authentic years of subjection is inadmissible. There is no room for

them in the people-history of Asia, even after reducing the 40 years for a generation to 33 or 30. According to the latter calculation even, we should have to add to the above 150 years 53 years for the former period during which there was not a single fact to record, which would make 203 years to the death of Gideon. This would not even leave space enough for the period from the time of Saul to the end of the fourth year of Solomon, which is strictly historical. The following dates of this period, reckoning from below, are well established, and we shall corroborate them more fully hereafter:

The reign of Saul - - -	22 years.
David's reign 40 years and 6 months -	41
The first 3 years of Solomon's reign -	3

The above series, from the cessation of the state of anarchy down to the death of Gideon, commences with the year - - -	1255
Deducting from this, according to the ordinary calculation, to Gideon's death - -	203
We get to the year	1052
But the first year of Saul was certainly -	1080
So that down to the death of Gideon we have already a deficit of - - - -	28

We have then still to account for all the time between the death of Gideon and that of Samuel. But even then we shall see, upon closer examination, that there are still 30 years wanting, even up to the commencement of the forty years' supremacy of the Philistines, in which we have to find a place for Samson, Eli, and Samuel, who, according to Scripture, occupied a period of 20+20+40, that is, 80 years.

If the application of this method leads to such impossibilities (and the historical critic could expect no

other result), the opposite method, namely, the total rejection of the periods of tranquillity and independence, would drive us to an historical absurdity. Did we take into account merely the 53 years during which they were in subjection, and consider them to represent the first period, from the death of Joshua to that of Gideon, there would be no space left for the lives and exploits of these heroes, who would lose all the glory of having effected the deliverance of the people. The only result of their successes and victories would be a direct transition from one state of bondage to another. We have, however, ample evidence that Gideon, the last of them, exercised the office of Judge in the land after he had delivered it from foreign supremacy, and that he maintained its independence. After declining to make the appointment of Judge hereditary, he erected a shrine for himself, and left behind him, by several wives, seventy sons, one of whom, Abimelech, murdered his brothers, and reigned despotically in Sichem for 3 years.

These were the considerations which induced us to say, in our preliminary criticism in the First Book, that all we could do in the first instance was, to report the results of the existing systems, and to show that they are inadmissible. Our readers will recollect that upon these data, and in early times too, 306 years were converted into 440 (11 generations), into 480 (12 generations), into 592 (480 + 111 1 year for Shamgar), and, still carrying on the same process, into 722 years.

The simple duty of the historical critic, therefore, is to endeavour to devise some method by which an approximate distribution of the traditional, historical, and systematic dates in that sharply defined epoch may be effected. For there certainly cannot be an error of more than 10 years in the 306 which we assume to be the length of it. The commencement and first 60

years are firmly fixed in the groove of general history by the pivots of authentic synchronisms. Its close is equally well established, not only by the historical character of all the dates after Solomon, and by the connected series of historical traditions, but also by the points of contact between Jewish and Egyptian history.

The only circumstances which could render the task a hopeless one would be, if we should find the groundwork of the period unhistorical, or the traditional dates spurious, and the events connected with them either fictitious or misinterpreted myths. But no writer deserving any notice as an historical critic has ever propounded such a theory, although the mythomania has beguiled some German scholars, who are in other respects entitled to consideration, into making assertions and assumptions, which, when stripped of their obscurity and the cloudiness of the mythical system, amount to something pretty nearly as absurd.

It would certainly be no trifling gain, if we could obtain a foundation for the distribution of the middle period under discussion; such a foundation as would enable us to connect the higher series from the Exodus to the cessation of the anarchy, with the lower one from Saul to the third year of Solomon inclusive, and admit of its being represented in the chronological tables of ancient history. The dates stand thus:

Length of the period from the Exodus to the third year of Solomon, from 1320 to 1015 - - - -		306 years.
Of these the period between the Exodus and the end of the 18 years when there were no Judges, comprises -	65 years.	
Between the beginning of Saul's reign and the end of Solomon's third year - -	66	131

Leaving for the middle period, the of time the Judges - - -	175 years.
The traditional historical data between the first supremacy (that of Mesopotamia) and the end of the last (that of Midian) are - - - - - -	53
Which leaves for the indefinite period of independence and for the sole judicature of Gideon, as well as that of all his successors down to the resignation of Samuel, the last of the Judges - -	122 years.

II. PRELIMINARY DISTRIBUTION OF THE 122 DISPOSABLE YEARS IN THE TIME OF THE JUDGES PROPER.

THE specific dates of the Judges which have come down to us, running on in an uninterrupted series from Abimelech, the son of Gideon, to the close of the last Judgeship before Samson (Abdon), comprise fully 79 years, assuming there to have been no gap between the different Judges.

The series is as follows:

Time of Abimelech, son of Gideon, down to the Year before the Philistine Supremacy and Samson.

Abimelech - - -	3 years.
Tola - - -	23
Jair - - - -	22
Jephthah - - -	6
Ibzan - - -	7
Elon - - -	10
Abdon - - -	8
	79 years.

Which leaves, of the disposable years, 43. With these 43 the following epochs correspond:

A. The Years of Independence in the earliest time.

1. Time of independence after Othniel's defeat of the Mesopotamians - x
2. Time of independence after Ehud's defeat of the Moabites - - x
3. Time of independence after Deborah's conquest of Northern Canaan - x
4. Time of independence after Gideon's defeat of the Midianites - - x

B. The Years assigned to Samson, Eli, and Samuel, certainly must correspond with the period when they were tributary to the Philistines, which is called 40 years. We cannot, however, claim for these three Judges a less period than the full term of the Philistine supremacy (40 years), (on account of the number of events which occurred in it), instead of the systematic dates of 20+40+20 - - 40 years.

Consequently we have enough for this one period, but only 3 years for the four preceding states.

This is much too little even for Gideon alone. Hence the supposition hitherto adopted as being the most natural one, that these specific dates of the Judges before Samson represented a continuous series, turns out to be impossible.

But did the Judges, from Abimelech to Abdon, really constitute a single series? May not some of them have been contemporaneous?

To assume a synchronism between Ephraim and Judah is clearly inadmissible. In almost all the accounts the two principal tribes, the northern and

southern, are mentioned together, and the whole of Canaan is almost necessarily equally interested in bondage and in freedom.

But is this the case when we compare all Canaan, the territory of the nine tribes and a half, with the country to the east of Jordan and its two tribes and a half (Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh)? Certainly it was so in Gideon's time. It is clear that that popular hero from Ophrah rescued the northern country on this side, as well as that to the east of Jordan, from the Arab Midianites, and there exercised undivided authority. But Abimelech, his son, the slayer of his brothers, was nothing more than the tyrant of Sichem, the birthplace of his mother. What have the three years he ruled there to do with the times of the Judges? In fact he has no more right to be called a Judge at all, than Tarquinius Sextus has to be reckoned among the consuls.

The next Judge mentioned, Tola, of the tribe of Issachar, is certainly spoken of in the Book of Judges (x. 1, 2.), as a Judge who arose after Abimelech, and "dwelt in mount Ephraim." His 23 years must therefore undoubtedly be computed in the chronology which goes down to Samson, Eli, Samuel, and Saul, that is, in the history of Palestine Proper, the land on this side Jordan.

But Jair of Gilead, to whom 22 years are given, and 30 sons, owners of the villages of Jair in Gilead (Argod), was assuredly only a man of the country on the other side. There is no record connecting him in any way with Palestine.

The next hero, Jephthah, also belonged to Gilead (xi. 1.), the "mighty man of valour," to whom 6 years are assigned, who put an end to the supremacy of the Ammonites in his own country. They had oppressed for 18 years all the children of Israel who dwelt beyond Jordan (x. 8.). They had also, doubtless, made incur-

sions to the other side of the river (ver. 9.), but their pretensions went no further than to demand the restitution of their old country (xi. 4—27.). These 18 years, as well as the 6 years of Jephthah the deliverer of Gilead, have nothing to do with Palestine.

We have, therefore, the following series for the country beyond Jordan:

Jair, Judge in Manasseh beyond Jordan	22 years.
The supremacy of the Moabites in the land beyond - - -	18
Jephthah - - - -	6
	46 years.

And what have we in Palestine Proper after Abimelech?

First of all, Tola, the next Judge mentioned after Abimelech, the man of Issachar (x. 1, 2.) - - -	23 years.

Then the three mentioned successively after Jephthah (xii. 8—15.):

Ibzan - - - -	7
Elon - - - -	10
Abdon - - - -	8
Total	48 years.

The series on the other side, therefore, ends almost contemporaneously, and Jephthah and Abdon are actually contemporaries, as well as Tola and Jair. Ibzan and Elon with their 17 years correspond to the 18 years of the Ammonites, with whom also the Philistines are mentioned (x. 7—9.).

Our computation of the 122 years, therefore, will now stand thus:

Disposable time, with specific dates -	-	122 years.
Of these there belong to Abimelech - . -	3 years.	
The succession of Judges in Palestine, to Samson inclusive - - -	48	
To these there are to be added, for Samson, Eli, and Samuel, to fill up the time of the supremacy of the Philistines - -	40	
	91 years.	91
Leaving to complete the periods transmitted in the dates of the epical system	-	31 years.

These periods, according to the above, are:

Time of Othniel	-	single (40)
„ Ehud	-	double (80)
„ Deborah	-	single (40)
„ Gideon	-	single (40)

The enigmatical portions of this are the 80 years in which the land had rest, from the time when Ehud delivered Israel from the hands of Moab by slaying Eglon. This date renders it impossible to make any strictly historical estimate of the whole series. For it is not only clearly out of the question to believe in the reality of these twice 40 years, but the three single 40 years of tranquillity and independence are equally inadmissible. There is but one way of explaining the whole account, which is by the system of twelve heroes in twelve generations of 40 years each, to which we have already alluded at the opening of this discussion, and which we shall make perfectly clear before the conclusion of it. A link was wanting to Samson, and so they doubled the period of Ehud in order to fill up the gap.

After deducting for Gideon 17 of the 41 disposable years, there remain 24 to be equally divided between Othniel, Ehud, and Gideon, 8 to each, as appears in the tables in my Bible-work. We thus obtain something which is avowedly only an approximate arrangement. But for this purpose the simple equal division is the most advisable.

We are not quite so deficient in data when making the distribution of the 40 years of the Philistine supremacy under Samson, Eli, and Samuel.

The statement that in the period immediately preceding Saul the supremacy of the Philistines lasted 40 years (Judges xiii. 1.), has nothing whatever to do with the series of epical dates of generations. It is connected with the date of 18 years of the supremacy of the Philistines and Ammonites, which is strictly historical, to which Jephthah put an end (x. 8—17.), and with the other dates of the duration of the foreign dominion which we have taken into account all together. In an internal sense, also, there cannot be a stronger contrast than between these 40 years and the epical notations of the length of a hero's life or generation. There are no facts or events with which to fill up the outline of the one, whereas in the other case there are specific personages and generations which harmonize with the long period of subjection. These are:

Samson of Dan, "Judge in the days of the Philistines" (xv. 20.; xvi. 30.) - -	20 years.
Eli, the high priest, Judge in the same period (1 Sam. iv. 18.) - - -	40
Samuel, "the seer," his successor, Judge till the appointment of Saul (iii. 19.; xi. 15.; xv. 12.) - - - -	20

Of these three personages, the reality of the first hav-

ing held the office of Judge is, from the facts before us, undoubtedly questionable. He is a popular hero, who attacks Philistines as well as lions whenever he has an opportunity. But his bearing and position are not those of a Judge, that is, of a recognised President of the nation. His 20 years coincide, therefore, with the first half of the 40 years' supremacy of the Philistines, that is, with Eli, the high priest and Judge. Hence we require 40 years for Eli and Samuel together. There are, indeed, so many specific historical notices of the acts and exploits of the above-mentioned heroes, especially Eli and Samuel, as would require that number of years to contain them.

The distribution we propose to make must be considered as approximative only, seeing that the Bible gives no historical account of it. There being no statement of the time when the term of 7 months that the ark was in the hands of the Philistines, and afterwards 20 years at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vi. 1., vii. 2.), concluded, we cannot deal with it. Josephus says, in his "Antiquities" (vi. 13. 5.), that Samuel presided over the people as Judge 12 years. There is no reason for disbelieving this statement. The other 28 years, accordingly, would belong to Eli, whose term of office was evidently a long one.

In the next ten years we shall probably obtain some Assyrian synchronisms for one or the other. In the meantime we can point out, even now, several historical events of a very suitable character, which square with our adjustment of this period in people-history.

Before proceeding to examine these more closely, we will give a summary of the results already obtained.

The following is the chronological solution we have established:

Length of period from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple - - 306 years.

These are made up from the existing data in the following manner:

A. From the Exodus to the Passage over Jordan	40		
B. From Joshua's entry into Canaan to the end of the interval of anarchy after his death (7+18)	25	65	65 years.
C. The time of the Judges:			
I. Supremacy of Mesopotamia	8		
Othniel, independence and rule of the Judges	7	15	
II. Supremacy of Moab	18		
Ehud	7	25	
III. Supremacy of North Canaan	20		
Barak and Deborah	7		
IV. Supremacy of Midian			
Gideon	17		
Abimelech, Gideon's son	3	47	
V. Concurrent chronological data for Canaan and East Jordan:			
Tola 23, Ibzan 7, Elon 10, Abdon 8	48		
Jair 22, Ammonite supremacy 18, Jephthah 6	46	48	
VI. Supremacy of the Philistines (rule of the High Priests)		40	
Probable distribution of these years:			
Eli	28		
Samuel (acc. to Josephus)	12	40	
D. From the commencement of monarchical government to Building of Temple:			
Saul 22, David 41, Solomon 3		66	
Total number of years of the Disunion		306	

III. HISTORICAL ELUCIDATION OF THE TIME OF THE JUDGES ACCORDING TO OUR ARRANGEMENT.

THE whole period coincides with that of the Assyrian supremacy in Western Asia. This commenced, as we have seen, in 1273, and was progressive during the first 32 years till the death of Semiramis, 1222 — the 52nd year of Ninus, or the Derketadæ. From this time forth the ordinary voluptuous harem-life of the rulers prevailed, and paved the way for the fall of the Assyrian empire. It must, at the same time, not be forgotten, that, till towards the middle of the 8th century B.C., Media and Babylon themselves were tributary provinces of the empire; and that, even in the last reign of the dynasty that of Sardanapalus (whose identity with the Phul and Tiglath-pileser of Scripture is unquestionable), the northern part of the empire became tributary, and a portion of the population was carried away into Assyria. Now, if the once mighty empires of Asia were tributary, if the Egyptian monuments have not a single feat of arms to boast of during these centuries, we should be drawn to the conclusion that Egypt was conquered, even if such a conquest were not attributed first to Ninus and then, with numerous details, to Semiramis. The native kings were suffered to retain their thrones, but as tributaries.

In times like these how could Palestine make peace but by "presents," that is, by payment of regular tribute? And who can Kusan-Ris'hathayim be but the Assyrian satrap of Mesopotamia, i. e. the Aramaic portion of the district between the two rivers? It is a curious coincidence, indeed, that the popular tradition about the personal history of Semiramis mentions such a name. She is there stated to have been, in the first instance, the wife of Onnes, "the principal of the king's

councillors and satrap of all Syria." (Diod. according to Ctesias, i. 4.) He saw the lovely Philistine maid — whose name signifies "the hovering (the pigeon) of the height (heaven)," an epithet of the Goddess Derketo — in an official tour to Gaza; he fell in love with her, and received her from her foster-father, who was an inspector of the royal troops, as his wife.

But we do not require the help of such a tradition (which, however, can hardly be a religious myth) to establish the fact of all Mesopotamia having been, at a very early stage, an appurtenance of the empire of Ninus, and having necessarily been governed by a satrap on the Euphrates. He must have kept an eye upon Palestine, even if it were not placed immediately under his charge, like the Roman governor under the satrap of Syria.

This relationship did exist, however, in the time of Nehemiah (iii. 7.). Certain workmen, who were employed by Nehemiah, the governor, in repairing the ruins, are said to belong "to the throne (Kisse') of the governor on this side the river" (i. e. speaking as a Persian or Assyrian, literally, on the other side of the stream, the Euphrates).

The name Kusan-Ris'hathayim, however, seems not to have any other meaning. It has hitherto been an enigma to all expositors, and the explanation of it in Gesenius' Dictionary — "most insolent Ethiopian" — requires a mark of admiration after the mark of interrogation. What had the Kushites to do in Mesopotamia at that time, especially if they signify men from Southern Arabia?

The dual termination, indeed, is a proof that the name signified a duality, namely Mesopotamia, the land of the two rivers, Naharaïna, as the man in the Book of Judges is once called "king of Aram," and another time "king of Naharayim." Mesopotamia, in fact, i. e. East-Syria, as contrasted with the Syria of Damascus, is called

properly Aram-Naharayim, the high land between the two rivers.

We may consider Ris'hathayim, from the analogy of the Arabic, Resata, kingdom, to mean the land of the two kingdoms (this side and that side). It seems to us, however, more natural to suppose that Kusan is the well-known Hebrew or Aramaic word *Kes*, *Kisse*, throne, judgment-seat. It is the very expression used in the passage of Nehemiah above alluded to. *An* is the person-ending, which we also find as a Canaanitish form in the Philistine word *seren*, prince; in Hebrew, *sar*. This formative syllable is not unfrequently used in the Bible in the same sense.[147] It probably also occurs on Assyrian monuments. The explanation of Ris, therefore, is res, ros = chief, president. The Assyro-Arabic name for river is *S*et (used in Hebrew only in the sense of alarm, outbreak, but signifying originally fluctuation); it is found in the present Arabic name of the Pasitigris, *S*at-el-Arab. In Assyrian, therefore, it was pronounced Kusan-res-*S*atain, i. e. first judge (governor, satrap) of Mesopotamia.

But whether this be the explanation or not, the so-called king of Mesopotamia can have been merely an Assyrian satrap, and the phenomenon can only be accounted for, and, as I believe, the name also, by the coincidence of the Assyrians being then dominant in these districts.

This synchronism, however, is the key to the whole Jewish history of the time. Let us for a moment dispassionately compare the epoch of Joshua with the state of Israel at the end of the 18 years of anarchy after his

[147] See Movers, Phœnicians, ii. A. p. 5. note 20. He remarks that Kus and Kusan are interchanged (Hab. iii. 7): Yeter and Yitran (1 Chron. vii. 38., compared with verse 37.; Gen. xxxvi. 26.): Qayin and Qeïnan (Gen. iv. 1., v. 9.): Loth and Lothan (Gen. xiii. 1., xxxvi. 20. 29.).

death, and keep steadily in view that we are dealing with a strictly historical narrative. The conquest by Joshua of the whole of the highlands is authentic, and the best accounts after his death state that the inhabitants of the plain were, for the most part, tributary to the Israelites. Suddenly everything is changed. The native inhabitants lift up their heads; Israel has to fight on both sides of the river for a bare existence; they become tributary, indeed, in which condition they remain during 175 years with only occasional intermissions, and those of short duration.

Much of this, certainly, may be accounted for by the total absence of a rational federal constitution, with a federal tribunal and federal power. There are two considerations which will enable the historian to comprehend how such institutions could fail to exist, consistently with the great and profound political views which formed the basis of the Mosaic constitution. One is the tenacity with which they adhered to a tribe life as being the extension of family life; the other, the thorough incompatibility of clear insight and the rude and savage state of this the only people of universal history. But in the present case the transition is too rapid. It can only arise from a total change of external relations.

Such were the rise and establishment of the Assyrian power. The old inhabitants of Canaan, including the cities of Phœnicia with Sidon at their head, mortally exasperated as they were, must necessarily have attached themselves to that supremacy as well as the Israelites. But they would not forget when an opportunity offered to bring forward their grievances against the Jews. Everything that occurred in Nehemiah's time must, as was intimated above, have also happened then in one shape or the other. Now the conquest of Asia was complete in the 17th year of Ninus, and whatever the appearance of things in Egypt may then have

been, whose star so suddenly paled at the very moment when the sun was rising on the Tigris, Palestine at least must have at that epoch very soon felt the influence of Assyria. It was nearer, and formed a bridge to Egypt.

This too when Semiramis overran Egypt, which Ninus had conquered, and from thence advanced upon Ethiopia—herself a Philistine from Gaza or Askalon, and apparently a fanatical worshipper of the Queen of Heaven, who was called in the old world Astarte!

The first shape, therefore, in which the Assyrian supremacy was exercised over the Israelites was through the satrap of Mesopotamia. No mighty empire of Damascus then existed, and in Eastern Syria there can never have been an empire coexistent with Assyria and Babylonia.

Precisely as might have been expected this Pacha abused his power. He drove the Jews to desperation, and was expelled by Hothniel, never to appear again, either he or his successor, as an oppressor of Israel.

Although we have no further explanation of the mode in which they were subjected to tribute on the three next occasions, by the Moabites and Midianites from the other side Jordan, and between the two by the Northern Canaanites, their aggressions must necessarily have had some connexion with the Assyrian domination, and, even if not directly instigated by that power, they must have been acquiesced in, and liberally paid for, by "the king of kings." There is no other way of accounting for the historical fact transmitted to us. The maxim, "divide et impera" is so congenial to the feelings of all tyrants and autocrats, that we may be sure Semiramis was not displeased to see the old races make head again against the new intruders. Her successors were obliged, nevertheless, to strain every nerve to subdue merely the northern portion of the realm of Israel, when the people at length resolved to establish a monarchical

form of government, as a means of deliverance from their state of disunion as tribes and from sacerdotal rule.

Between the supremacy of Midian and the ascendency of the Philistines, which Samson struggled against with heroic courage, but which was not overthrown till the time of Saul and David, the judicature of Gideon intervened. This, with the 3 years of his son, the tyrant of Sichem, we suppose to have lasted 13 years. He was succeeded by the series of Judges in Israel from Tola to Abdon, the well authenticated length of whose judicature was 48 years.

Ewald has ingeniously shown that the Philistines must during that period have received reinforcements from the islands of the Mediterranean, especially Cyprus and Crete (Kaphthor and Kittim), to have enabled them to acquire such an ascendency. These troops who returned from foreign service were probably the class of body-guards or Swiss mercenaries of the king of Assyria, the so-called Krethi and Pelethi, that is, Cretans and Philistines.

In a word, we have here an intelligible history in a suitable period, instead of an unintelligible chaos during a period devoid of all historical facts. Instead of an isolated narrative wholly at variance with the real history of Asia and Egypt, and which, in spite of the inexhaustible, because unfounded, devices of theologians, can never be made to harmonize with it, we have an organic connexion which removes the possibility of any doubt as to its reality.

IV. The Years of Saul and David.

We propose in conclusion to say a few words upon the chronology we have adopted for the reigns of Saul and David. From the time that the monarchy was established we have specific strictly historical dates. When a consciousness of constitutional unity is felt,

the conception of a regular progression in time is evinced, which, in the purely prophetical form of the earlier portions of the Bible narratives, is thrown into the background.

At first sight it certainly seems as if no date were assigned to the reign of Saul.

The only passage in which it is mentioned proves indeed that it once was known. But it is so unintelligible that it is omitted in the Alexandrian version altogether. Theological expositors and translators have been contented with mistranslating it.

It is the 1st verse of the 13th chapter of the First Book of Samuel. The following is De Wette's translation of it, the hiatus in the text at the beginning being marked by asterisks :

"* * * years old was Saul when he became king, and two years he reigned over Israel."

This honest translation, however, leaves us in the dark, as does De Wette himself in his "Archæology," where he arbitrarily makes him 40 years old. The older translators rendered it, "Child (son) of one year was Saul." It is hard to say here whether it was more foolish to make Scripture speak of a child-king of a year old, or to make their fanciful child, by way of being sentimental, as "innocent as a babe of a year old."

Others again, who, like Meyer, connect the above words with those which follow and translate and interpret them in this way,

"Saul reigned one year, and when he had reigned two years over Israel (he chose him three thousand men of Israel, &c.),"

are doubly culpable, for they know, or ought to know, that the former words can only refer to Saul's age when he began to reign.

This must have been 40, and may very well have been 50. For, as was mentioned in the First Book, when he died his son Isboseth was 40 (2 Sam. ii. 10.); if then he reigned but 20 years, he must have been at least 18 at his accession, for we are not told that Isboseth was his eldest child. A still stronger argument in favour of this view is the circumstance of Saul immediately upon his accession giving his son Jonathan the supreme command over a considerable body of troops. Josephus, however, tells us that he reigned 20 years, 18 of which were in the lifetime of Samuel (Antt. vi. 13. 5.; conf. 14. 9.). Most commentators have adopted this date, Ewald among the rest.

But it would seem as if this enigmatical verse might help us to a closer computation. Undoubtedly there are two numbers lost, and, therefore, according to the old system of notation, two letters. The easiest way of explaining this is by supposing the numerals which are wanting to be the same letters as the last of the preceding word. In that case the first would be an N, i. e. 50 (the preceding word being BEN, son, child); the second a K, i. e. twenty. The text has, BEMOLKO USTÊ, i. e. "when he became king, and two." We suppose therefore that it ran: BEMOLKO K USTÊ or BEMOLKO VK USTÊ, i. e. "when he became king, $\overline{\text{K}}$ (20) and two," or, "when he became king, and $\overline{\text{K}}$ and two."

The restoration would then be as follows:

"Fifty years old was Saul when he began to reign, and two and twenty years he reigned over Israel."[148]

It is unnecessary to go into much detail as to the

[148] Upon the grammatical question as to the use of *S*anah (year) in the first part of the verse in the singular, and *S*anim (years) in the second in the plural number, compare the exactly similar passage in Gen. xii. 4. (Gesenius, Lehrgeb. p. 699.)

length of David's reign. It is stated expressly (2 Sam. v. 4, 5.):

"David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years. In Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months, and in Jerusalem he reigned thirty and three years over Israel and Judah." (Conf. 1 Kings ii. 11.)

Following in this instance the ordinary rule, which was doubtless pursued in the chronological tables of the Jews, that of computing the year which had commenced to the king who came to the throne, we cannot with any propriety pass over the six months, but must make David reign 41 years, and his son Solomon 39. At present they are each made to reign 40, a consequence of the epical system which prevails in the connected narrative. But the above passage gives us a clue to the original strictly chronological date, which we must adopt in our tables. This is the only process in accordance with the spirit of the historical tradition transmitted to us. For all the following dates are strictly historical. The turning-point, however, is not the division of the kingdoms. The tendency of this was rather to destroy the feeling of unity as regarded life, and consequently also as regarded time. The real turning-point is the introduction of monarchical government, as being the symbol and warranty of that consciousness.

V. EXPLANATION OF THE ORIGIN OF UNCHRONOLOGICAL STATEMENTS.

WE are enabled so far to fill up the outline which has been traced out for us through general history, for the time of the Judges and the whole period from the Exodus down to the Building of the Temple, so as to bring into account each of the historical dates which have been transmitted to us.

With this fact before him an historian assuredly cannot agree with the theologians, who set a higher value upon a systematic narrative worked up out of records and living popular traditions, than they do upon the original records themselves. Such a procedure is at variance with all the fundamental principles of historical criticism. But apart from this circumstance, which has little or rather no weight with them, we will simply state that the general history, which is established upon irrefragable testimony and monuments which cannot be misunderstood, can find no space for 400, 440, or 480 years, still less for the 592 or 600 and odd years for which there is apparently far better warranty. By persisting, therefore, in their present system, they will make a broader distinction than has hitherto been done between the history of revelation and general history, between faith in it and reason and the consciousness of truth. This is a consideration which we must leave them to deal with for themselves.

The result, however, at which we have arrived will not allow us to agree with the modern mythagogues and dreamers about cyclical numbers, who see ghosts in broad daylight, and had rather give up all historical reality in despair than take the trouble of eliminating it from the admixture of unhistorical traditions. We may with equal confidence assert that no such terrible confusion prevails, that the historical reality which is covered with a very thin veil is easily unmasked, and that the Sacred Records furnish ready to our hands the most precious clues and resting-places in making such a restoration.

We know of no ancient tradition, of a similar kind, which has preserved with so much fidelity the records at its disposal, at the very points where the living traditions of several generations or centuries had led to a totally different version, different combination, and different representation.

One thing, however, we may fairly be called upon to account for by our researches. If the case be such as it is represented, we are bound to show how the author or authors of the systematic narrative of the above events happened to arrive at that precise representation of them with which we are dealing.

I think the best way of meeting this demand, in furtherance of the purpose of this Book, will be to lay before our readers, in a summary manner, the simple idea which, with all its child-like simplicity, is truly sublime and epical. It will then be obvious to any unprejudiced mind, that what has been hitherto called ancient chronology is, even in this domain, merely an illegitimate combination of historical and unhistorical data; a combination which at once spoils and destroys both history and poetry, and which deviates more and more from the truth in proportion as the process to which it is submitted is of a more fundamental and logical character.

The view upon which the connected narrative proceeds, in the history between the Exodus and the Building of the Temple, appears at once in the title of the historical books, "the earlier Prophets" as contrasted with "the later Prophets," that is, those who have recorded their prophecies in books. It is the indications and proofs of the direct operation of the Spirit of God on the minds of enlightened seers which it was the intention to point out and to have recognised as existing in very early times. The aim and purpose of its authors was not to make a compilation of the dry annalistic entries of ordinary external events. Their object was to bring into notice the guidance of the people of God from generation to generation, and that, too, with a confident feeling that these evidences of the power of the Spirit would be intelligible to all men, because they are grounded in the inmost nature of man and the eternal moral government of the world. This spirit manifests

itself also in their popular songs, legends, and traditions, and the narrators made a free use of every trace of this popular spirit, in incorporating it into their descriptions. Hence, as might be expected, there sprang up an Epos, which was an intermediate step between Mythos and strict history. It exhibits no trace of the influence of those mythological fictions which give historical form to the idea of the relation between the Divine and human. It is this which marks its superiority to every heathen Epos, not excepting even altogether the Hellenic. Its basis is historical, exclusively historical; the shape in which it is composed is strictly popular epic, by generations of forty years. Moses, for instance, the great man of God, is, at the beginning of the Epos, when he receives the divine call and enters on his sacred office as leader and saviour of the people, exactly 80 years old (twice 40) (Ex. vii. 7.).

Towards the end of the period Eli ruled 40 years, the next 40 are divided between Samuel and Saul; after that there are the 40 years of David, and then the 40 of Solomon.

Such a synopsis of the data in the connected narrative gives us a representation of twelve generations computed regularly by forties or twice twenties. The historical dates in the authentic traditions remain as they are wholly unaffected by it.

We have not twelve heroes, twelve older prophets, but an unbroken succession of prophets, that is, men of the spirit, in twelve generations, in twelve cantos as it were, or twelve sections.

Again we have 12 times 40, or 480 years, representing the period down to the building of Solomon's temple, the three additional years in which, between it and the death of David, will not create any difficulty. We shall also see at once how 440 might have been made out of it.

The Leaders of the People of God in the Twelve Generations of the Men of the Spirit in Israel, from Moses to David.

	Years.		Years.
MOSES. I. The Exodus and Journeyings in the Wilderness, 40 years, or into the 41st year. (Num. xxxiii. 38.) (The Books of Moses.)	40	GIDEON. VII. Deliverance from Midian. (viii. 28).	40
JOSHUA. II. Conquest of Canaan by Joshua . . 25 yrs. under Caleb and others . 18 } 43 (The Book of Joshua, and the first two chapters of Judges, which also repeat the death of Joshua.)	(40)	TOLA'H, YAIR, „ 23 years. 22 years. VIII. YIPHTHAH. 6 years. (In all 51 years.)	(40)
HOTHNIEL. III. The Mesopotamian and his defeat (Judges, iii. 11.)	40	IBZAN, ELON, 7 years. 10 years. ABDON, 8 years. IX. Altogether . . 25 years SAMSON . . 20 „ (xv. 20.; xvi. 31.) Close of the Book of Judges.	(40)
IV. EHUD. Defeat of Moab. } "80 years."	40	X. ELI, the High-Priest. (1 Sam. iii. 19.)	40
V. EHUD. Moab at rest. } (iii. 30.) The first real hero is Samgar, then a woman, Deborah, who delivered them from the oppression of the kings of North Canaan.	40	SAMUEL, the High-Priest and Seer. (1 Sam. vii. 15.; vi. 1.; vii. 2.; viii. 1.) XI. "20 years" SAUL. The first king, "20 years" (1 Sam. xiii. 1.)	40
VI. DEBORAH and BARAK of Ephraim of Naphthali. Conquest of North Canaan. (v. 31.)	40	DAVID, the King and Psalmist. XII. "40 years, 6 months." (2 Sam. v. 4, 5.) . . . . "40 years." (1 Kings, ii. 11.)	40

No one can say that our arrangement is an arbitrary one, or that the recurrence of 40 years can be ascribed

to accident. In the case of nine generations we have the number 40 in the text of the narrative (although, as we have seen, it is at variance with the historical dates of the records). For the generation of Joshua Scripture tradition gives no date at all. The historical dates transmitted by Josephus state it at 43. Those for the eighth generation make 51, for the following one 25 +20 or 45.

According to this, the only great personage to represent two generations was Ehud. The Epic compiler evidently meant to include Samgar in the second. He is introduced, without any further notice, after Ehud, who is spoken of in Deborah's song of praise, as the last man of God, and Judge before her; then comes Deborah herself, their deliverer from the yoke of North Canaan. The writer, however, who introduced Ehud only, may have thought it more advisable to make the whole consist of 11 generations instead of 12. In that case his number would have been 440 instead of 480 years.

But the 480 years, mentioned in the Hebrew text as the date from the Exodus to the Building of the Temple, necessarily grow into 591, if they are to be considered historical, when the sum total of the years of foreign supremacy is added to them. These comprise, as appears by the table in our First Book, 111 years.

But where do the 592 come from, which are adopted by most of the old chronologers?

It can hardly be accidental that they are only just one year more than the above sum total; which one year is easily explained. Samson (Judges iii. 31.) has no date assigned to him: but still he must have had one year, and that one is really credited to him.

Proceeding on this principle, Julius Africanus made the numbers up to 722 years. What was there, indeed, to prevent him?

B.

THE COMPUTATION OF THE PERIOD FROM THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE TO ITS DESTRUCTION BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR, OR THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF THE DIVIDED KINGDOM.

INTRODUCTION.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES, AND THE ATTEMPTS AT SOLVING THEM.

THE task which the old synchronists had here to perform was difficult enough in itself. Theological prejudices and rabbinical dishonesty rendered the difficulty insuperable. But the record itself, which has nothing to do with these impediments, has furnished the means of solving it.

In the succession of kings of the divided kingdom there was one great fixed point, the destruction of Samaria and the northern kingdom in the ninth year of Hosea, the last king of Israel. This is so specifically and so repeatedly stated as being the sixth year of Hezekiah, king of Judah, that no doubt could be thrown on this synchronism. Equally little doubt was there as to the starting-point, the year after Solomon's death. For the first year of Jeroboam must also be the first year of Rehoboam, according to the historical narrative. There was rebellion instead of bondage. This is expressly stated in computing the dates of the first kings.

What could the interpreters and synchronists do? The sum total of the regnal years of the kings of Judah is 260, whereas the dates of the kings of Israel as certainly amounted only to 241 years, 7 months, and 7 days. After several abortive attempts, a very questionable plan was at last adopted for getting over the

difficulty. The existence of a double interregnum in the northern kingdom was assumed as one of 11 years after the death of Jeroboam, and one of 9 years prior to Hosea's reign. Apart from the gratuitous character of this assumption, the history renders such a fabrication of two historical epochs wholly inadmissible. According to the clear words of the narrative, Jeroboam II. was succeeded by his own son Zachariah. Shortly after his accession we hear of disturbances, but none at all prior to that event. Had any such taken place, could they fail to be noticed? Sallum, the murderer of Zachariah, is mentioned as having reigned one month; how then could there possibly have been an interregnum of 10 years, before the seven-months' reign of Zachariah, without its being recorded also?

Thus much as to the first supposititious interregnum. How stands the case with the second, after the death of Deborah?

Hosea slew King Pekah, but neither one, nor even several, adventurers, who usurped the throne after his death. A conspirator either seizes the throne immediately after he has murdered the king, or not at all. If the above interregnum of 10 years existed, the whole account of this act of Hosea must be rejected as untrue. For, as it was successful, Hosea must have become king directly after the murder, or a struggle must have ensued with some third person. But such a third person or persons must first be discovered, their existence being entirely unknown both to history and historical criticism.

It can only be attributable to the insinuating language in which De Vignoles has couched his argument, and to his dexterity in glossing over facts, that has induced even De Wette to acquiesce in such a solution. Ewald has the merit of having severely denounced so uncritical a mode of dealing with the subject. He argues that Omri, who is said to have reigned twelve years, would

seem to have reigned sixteen; for it appears from the computations of the narrator that the struggle with the rival king, Tibni, lasted four years, to which the twelve of Omri are to be added (1 Kings xvi. 15.; comp. 23.).

It must be admitted that there is no other way of explaining the parallel years of reign of the kings of Israel and Judah which follow immediately after. But then another question arises, whether this parallelism is correctly made. It does not agree with others which come after. There are so many contradictions, and so much confusion in the MSS. in respect to those parallelisms, the origin of which has been well explained by Ewald as arising from the existence of different comparisons of the regnal years of the kings of Judah and Israel, made at an earlier date, that the above question is not only justifiable, but one which must be entertained. But it turns out that Ewald himself is obliged to propose several considerable alterations, in order to make the computations of the period harmonize—and these of a very serious kind. There can be no doubt that the narrator had not the records themselves before him, merely retrospective Jewish and retrospective Israelitish chronological tables and extracts. Several circumstances seem to indicate that the dates in these lists were not written in words, but in letters, according to the numerical value they had in early times. The point for critical consideration therefore is, precisely as in the case of Manetho's chronological tables, whether the alterations proposed are trivial or serious, probable or improbable. A Samekh, for instance (ס, 60), may easily have been mistaken for a Mem (מ, 40), as they are difficult to distinguish, and easily confounded. But it is not probable that a Mem (40) should have been made into a Lamed and Têt (לט, 39); although there is only a difference of one between them. But moreover, if such alterations are necessary, a further strong doubt is raised as to whether the course pursued is the right

one. I have therefore endeavoured to find a more simple solution. In order to explain the origin of the confusion which now prevails in the Books of Kings, and which, indeed, has been admitted by most of the Christian rabbis of our days, we must take two circumstances into consideration. In the first place, it is always hazardous to compute the length of a reign by whole years, unless it be accompanied by a notation of the year, month, and day any king came to the throne, and when he ceased to reign, which notation would give the exact length of the reign. Otherwise the notation of a given year by the name of a king is very incomplete, and may easily become the source of error, and especially so if the regnal year of a king of one country be compared with that of another contemporary king. But, in the second place, as we shall shortly see, it turns out that the parallel in the kingdom of Israel was very early one year in advance, which in process of time, owing to the inaccuracy continuing, grew into two years. Supposing a king of Judah to have come to the throne in the eleventh month of any given year, and his contemporary of the kingdom of Israel in the first month of the third previous year, in what way is the parallel notation of reigns to be made? If by the current years, that is one mode of computation; if by the date of the actual reign, that is another mode. They are both comparisons, and both equally warranted; but, by mixing the two together, terrible confusion arises.

The main point, however, to be borne in mind is, that the so-called historical books of Scripture do not profess to give any history whatever in the ordinary sense. They have so little concern with kings as such, that the epic formula is constantly repeated: "Now the rest of the acts, &c., and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah!" That is to say, "Any body who wishes to know these may read the chronicles; but they have very little

interest for us; our duty being briefly to record the words of the men of God and the dealings of God, the true King, with His people." The ordinary view taken of these books is a false one, and so is the title given them, "historical books," by which the narratives from Joshua to Solomon are known. They are called collectively "the earlier prophets," in order to distinguish them from the men of God whose writings only date from after the reign of Solomon.

We will cite but a single instance of incorrect copying, an ancient one already noticed, that of Mem instead of Samekh, 40 instead of 60. Jeroboam did not reign forty-one, but sixty-one years. By this alteration the history of the time, as well as the chronology, is at last put upon a right footing.

Generally speaking, however, owing to the manifest contradictions in the comparative computations, we may make what is a very natural assumption, that the Jewish compiler was better acquainted with the history and chronicles of his own kingdom than with those of the northern kingdom.

The following tabular view is intended to place the reader in a position to form an independent opinion for himself.

I. COMPARATIVE LISTS OF KINGS FROM REHOBOAM TO THE DEATH OF AHAZIAH, AND FROM JEROBOAM TO THE DEATH OF JEHORAM.

JEHU, the bold mutineer, slew Jehoram, the son of Ahab, and at the same time Ahaziah, the king of Judah, his relative and ally, who was on a visit to Jehoram. It seems as if the two sovereigns were slain on the same day. At all events, their deaths must have taken place in the same year, the one preceding the reign of Jehu over Israel.

Here, then, we have a chronological break, and a resting-place in the adjustment of the chronology as well as the history.

Kingdom of Judah.

	Solomon -	
	Chronol.	B. C.
Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, begins to reign, "41 years old; reigned 17 years." (1 Kings xiv. 21.) - - - - - - - -	1	
1st year. Revolt of the ten tribes - -	—	978
5th „ Conquest of Jerusalem by Sheshonk	5	974
17th „ † - - - - - - -	17	962
Abijam, the son of Rehoboam, begins to reign, "In the 18th year of Jeroboam; reigned 3 years." (xv. 1.) (Here comes the question, whether the 18th year is the year of the new chronology, from the death of Solomon? or from the actual accession of Jeroboam? whether months are reckoned or only days? (See the 21st year of Jeroboam)		
1st year - - - - - - - -	18	961
3rd „ † - - - - - - -	20	959
Asa, the son of Abijam, begins to reign, "In the 20th year of Jeroboam; reigned 41 years." (xv. 9.) -		
1st year - - - - - - - -	21	958
2nd „ (comp. Jerob. 21. 22.) - - -	22	957
3rd „ - - - - - - - -	23	956
4th „ - - - - - - - -	24	955
5th „ - - - - - - -	25	954
Probably in the 13th year (in which Osorkon died). War with Serach (see sequel).		
15th year. Restoration of the service of the Lord, soon after the war. (2 Chron. xv. 10.) - - - - - - - - -	35	—
25th year. End of the peace. (2 Chron. xv. 19., כה instead of לה) - - - -	45	934
26th year. War with Baasha, כה instead of לה (26 instead of 36). (2 Chron. xvi. 1.)	46	933
27th year. (Zimri, king 7 days.) (1 Kings xvi. 15.) - - - - - - -	47	932
28th year - - - - - - - -	48	931

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
- - † 979.		
Jeroboam, King of Israel, "Reigned 22 years." (1 Kings xiv. 20)		
1st year. Declaration of Independence -	—	978
18th year. Abijam begins to reign in Judah (xv. 1.) - - - - - - - -	—	961
(Hitherto the two calculations tally: see Abijam.)		
20th year (last year of Abijam) - - -	—	959
21st „ First year of Asa - - -	—	958
But according to 1 Kings xv. 9., 958 is the 20th year of Jeroboam (see Abijam); the error here is entirely on the part of the Jewish comparison of the years of Israel.		
22nd year † - - - - - - - -	—	957
Nadab, his son, "In the 2nd year of Asa, reigned 2 years." (xv. 25.) 956 is Asa's 3rd year: consequently the computation of the kings of Israel is in arrear - - - - -	—1	
1st year (corresponding with the 3rd of Asa)	—	956
2nd „ †. Slain by Baasha, "in the 3rd year of Asa." (xv. 28.)	—	955
It should be "in the 4th year:" still one year in arrear - - - - - -	—1	
The house of Jeroboam is destroyed by Baasha, the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar.		
(The House of Baasha.)		
Baasha, son of Ahijah, "in the 3rd year of Asa, ... 24 years." (xv. 23.) The year after Nadab's death must be 954=5th year of Asa, consequently - - - - - - - - -	1—2	954
From this point down to Omri, inclusive, and again, subsequently, a new record is used, which is comprised throughout in the naked form of a chronological table. The word "reigned" is omitted.		
24th year. † (According to what precedes and follows, considered as the 25th year of Asa=934), consequently - - - -	—2	932
Elah, the son of Baasha, "in the 26th year of Asa .... 2 years." (xvi. 8.) This would give 933, but as it must be 931 (28th year) consequently:		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—2	931

Kingdom of Judah.

	Chronol.	B. C.
Asa—*continued.*		
29th „	49	930
31st „	51	928
33rd „	53	926
34th year	54	925
38th „	58	921
40th „	60	919
41st „ †	61	918
Jehoshaphat, son of Asa, begins to reign, 35 years old "in the 4th year of Ahab; reigned 25 years." (xxii. 41.)		
1st year (corresponding to the 2nd year of Ahab)	62	917
17th year	78	901
18th „	79	900
25th „ †	86	893

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
Elah—*continued.*		
2nd „ †. Slain by Zimri, who is himself slain 7 days afterwards by Omri (xvi. 15—22), who calculates this as his own 1st year.		
(The house of Omri.)		
Omri, "in the 31st year of Asa .... 12 years, 6 years in Tirzah and 6 in Samaria." (xvi. 23.) According to the above, this year must be called the 27th, consequently there has been a leap of 4 years, and the chronology, instead of being two years in advance, is therefore 2 years in arrear. The chronology here adopted as the basis assumes 4 years for the time of the struggle with Tibni, the rival king (xvi. 21.), as not being included in the above 12 years. But the very specific nature of this date of 12 years, with the additional remark that half of it belongs to Samaria, of itself makes this highly improbable. But what settles the question is the fact that in that case the last year of Jehoram, king of Israel, and of Ahaziah, king of Judah, would have an interval of 4 years between them, whereas they must have died in the same year, indeed on the same day.		
1st year (instead of 31st year of Asa) (928)=29, or B. C., 930 - - - - -	+2	930
7th year (removal of seat of government to Samaria) - - - - - - -	—	924
12th year, † (corresponding to the last but one, or 40th year of Asa) - - -	—	919
Ahab, the son of Omri, begins to reign; 1st year "in the thirty and eighth year of Asa, reigned "twenty and two years." (1 Kings xvi. 29.) It should be "in the 41st year of Asa." The computation is therefore again in arrear, not 2 but 3 years.		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—3	918
4th „ - - - - - - - - -	—	915
21st „ War with Damascus, in which Jehoshaphat is his ally - - - - -	—	898
22nd year, †. Falls in the battle against the king of Syria - - - - - -	—	897
Ahaziah, son of Ahab, begins to reign. 1st year "in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned 2 years." (xxii. 51.) This 17th year corresponds with our 901. Consequently - -	—	896
2nd year - - - - - - - - -	—6	— 895

Kingdom of Judah.

	Chronol.	B. C.
Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, begins to reign "in the 5th year of Joram, the son of Ahab." (xxii. 5.) "32 years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned 8 years." (2 Kings viii. 16, 17.) Son-in-law of Ahab (viii. 18.), and consequently brother-in-law of Ahaziah, king of Israel.		
5th year of Joram, king of Israel = 890, consequently two years too little.		
1st year - - - - - - - -	87	892
2nd „ - - - - - - - -	88	891
8th „ † - - - - - - - -	94	885
Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, begins to reign "in the 12th year of Joram, king of Israel." (viii. 25.) "Two and twenty years old was he when he began to reign, and he reigned one year." (ver. 26.)		
12th year of Joram, king of Israel = 883, again two years too little.		
1st year - - - - - - - -	95	884
At the beginning of the 2nd year, the 1st of Athaliah, he is slain by Jehu - - -	96	883

II. Succession of Kings from the Accession of

	Chronol.	B. C.
Athaliah, mother of Ahaziah who was slain by Jehu, widow of Jehoram, and daughter of Omri, king of Israel, destroys all the royal seed of the house of Judah, but Joash, the king's son, is saved by the High Priest, and concealed six years, during which she reigns. (xi. 3.) This, therefore, explains these six years, being reckoned from the day of the death of Ahaziah, who only reigned one year, and died at the beginning of the year 883.		
1st year - - - - - - - -	96	885
6th „ - - - - - - - -	101	878
Joash, son of Ahaziah, is chosen king, "in the 7th year" (xi. 4); consequently "he was 7 years old when he began to reign, in the 7th year of Jehu, and reigned 40 years." (xii. 1.)		
1st year - - - - - - - -	102	877
23rd „ - - - - - - - -	124	855
37th „ - - - - - - - -	138	841
40th „ †. Slain by his own servants (xii.	141	838

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
Joram, the son of Ahab (2 Kings iii. 1.; comp. viii. 16.), consequently the younger brother of Ahaziah, begins to reign "in the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat" (2 Kings i. 17.), "in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat, reigned 12 years." (iii. 1.) Here we have two statements positively contradicting each other. One corresponds to the year 891 (consequently +3), the other to 900 (consequently −6). Therefore		
1st year - - - - - - -	+3 −6	894
5th „ - - - - - - - -	—	890
12th „ †. Wounded at the battle of Ramoth, against the king of Syria, receives a visit from Ahaziah, king of Judah. Jehu, at the suggestion of Elisha, causes a revolt, slays Joram with his own hand, and causes Ahaziah, king of Judah, to be put to death. Here, therefore, there is a synchronism to a day - - - - -	—	883

JEHU TO THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
(The House of Jehu.) Jehu begins to reign, reckoning from the year after the murder of Joram (in 883). "Reigned 28 years." (x. 36.)		
1st year - - - - - - - -	—	882
28th year † - - - - - - -	—	855
Jehoahaz, son of Jehu, begins to reign, "in the 23rd year of Joash, king of Judah" (855), and "reigned 17 years." (xiii. 1.) The comparison is only one year behind, consequently - - - - - - - -	—1	
1st year - - - - - - - -	—	854
17th „ † - - - - - - - -	—	838

Kingdom of Judah.

	Chronol.	B. C.
Amaziah, son of Joash, begins to reign "in the second year of Joash, son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel: he was 25 years old when he began to reign, and reigned 29 years." (xiv. 1, 2.) 2nd year of Joash, king of Israel = 836, is not contradictory.		
1st year - - - - - - - - Uncertain *when*, Amaziah slew the Edomites in the Valley of Salt, and destroyed Salah (Petra), which he called Joqthêl (vanquished by God). (xiv. 7.) Elated by this he challenged Joash, king of Israel, to combat: he was defeated and taken prisoner, Jerusalem burnt and razed. (xiv. 11—14.) Still he left the kingdom to his son, evidently not in a very bad condition; hence this misfortune must have happened early, at all events before the death of Joash.	142	837
16th year (= to the year that Joash died). "Lived after the death of Jehoash, king of Israel, 15 years." (xiv. 17.) In reality 14 years. As before, there is again a discrepancy of only one year.	157	822
17th year - - - - - - - -	158	821
29th „ † - - - - - - -	170	809
Uzziah (called also Azariah), the son of Amaziah, "in the 27th year of Jeroboam:" (Here 10 lost years are restored from below, as in the succeeding comparison: 27 should be 17.)		
"was 16 years old, and reigned 52 years." (xv. 1, 2.)		
1st year (aged 16) - - - - - -	171	808
28th „ (aged 43) - - - - - -	198	781
38th „ - - - - - - - - -	208	771
48th „ (aged 63). The year of Jeroboam's death - - - - - - - -	218	761
49th „ (year of Zachariah's reign) - -	219	760
52nd „ † (aged 67 = 3rd year of Menahem)	—	757

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
Jehoash, son of Jehoahaz, begins to reign, "in the 37th year of Joash, king of Judah .... 16 years." (xiii. 10.)		
The above year is 841, consequently the comparison is 4 years behind - - - - -	—4	—
Ewald reads "in the 39th year," as does the Aldine version of the Septuagint (839), which would, therefore give —2.		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—	837
16th „ † - - - - - - - -	—	822
Jeroboam II., son of Joash, begins to reign "in the 15th year of Amaziah, king of Judah .... 41 years." (xiv. 23.) Instead of 41 (מא) read 61 (סא) (see Introduction).		
1st year (17 instead of 15, consequently a difference of 2 years) - - - - -	+2	821
13th year of Jeroboam (=14 years after the death of Joash) - - - - - -	—	809
14th year of Jeroboam (=1st year of Uzziah)	—	808
41st year (stated to be last year) - - -	—	781
61st „ (48th year of Uzziah) - - -	—	761
Zachariah, son of Jeroboam, began to reign "in the 38th year of Azariah, king of Judah" (Uzziah) (xv. 8.), "reigned 6 months" - -	—	760
(Here there is manifestly a recovery of 10 or 20 years that were lost: the 38th year of Uzziah is=771. Difference, 11 years.) Then Sallum, his murderer, "1 month, in the 39th year of Uzziah:" reducing the years that are wanting by 1. (xv. 13.)		
(The House of Menahem.)		
Menahem, from Tirzah, succeeds "in the 39th year of Azariah, reigned 10 years." (xv. 16, 17.)		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—	759
10th „ † - - - - - - - -	—	750

Kingdom of Judah.

	Chronol.	B. C.
Jotham, the son of Uzziah, begins to reign "in the 2nd year of Pekah, the son of Remaliah, 25 years old, reigned 16 years." (xv. 32, 33.)		
1st year (instead of 746, 10 or 11 years difference) - - - - - - - -	—	756
16th year † - - - - - - -	—	741
Ahaz, the son of Jotham, king "*in the 17th year of Pekah, 20 years old, reigned* 16 *years.*" (xvi. 1.)		
The 17th year of Pekah is 731.		
1st year (instead of 731, 9 or 10 years in advance - - - - - - - -	—	740
12th year - - - - - - - -	—	729
16th „ † - - - - - - -	—	725
Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, begins to reign "in the 3rd year of Hosea." (xviii. 1.) "25 years old, and reigned 29 years." (ver. 2.)		
Here the chronology agrees exactly to a year.		
1st year (corresponding to 4th year of Hosea)	—	724
2nd „ („ 5th „ „)	—	723
3rd „ („ 6th „ „)	—	722
4th „ („ "*seventh year of Hosea.*") (xviii. 9.) Agrees exactly -	—	721
5th year, (corresponding to 8th year of Hosea)	—	720
6th „ („ "*ninth year of Hosea*" (xviii. 10.); the year that Samaria was taken) - - - - - -	—	719
After a good deal of confusion, therefore, the two chronologies again harmonize, in the year of the siege and capture of Samaria, which forms an epoch in the history.		
In the year before the accession of Hezekiah, the Jewish comparison of the regnal years of the kings of Israel is still in arrear the 10 years which were lost in the reign of Jeroboam II., from below? (The other half of the 20 years had been brought in above?) In the following year, the accession of Hezekiah, the calculation is only one year behind (just as it was at a very early stage).		
But in the 4th and 6th years of Hezekiah's reign the comparison is perfectly right.		

KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

	Difference from Judah.	Real Year.
Pekahiah, son of Menahem: "in the 50th year of Azariah, reigned 2 years." (xv. 23.)		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—	749
2nd „ †. Slain by Pekah, captain of the guard. (xv. 25.) - - - - - -	—	748
The House of Menahem destroyed.		
Pekah, "in the 52nd year of Azariah, reigned 20 years." (xv. 25.) The 52nd year of Uzziah is 757.		
1st year - - - - - - - - -	—	747
17th „ - - - - - - - - -	—	731
20th „ †. Murdered by Hosea - - -	—	728
Hosea, the murderer of Pekah, begins to reign "in the 12th year of Ahaz" (xvii. 1.), i. e. in the year 729: consequently 2 years in arrear.		
1st year (acc. to former calculation 729) -	—	727
2nd „ („ „ 727) -	—	725
4th „ („ „ 726) -	—	724
5th „ („ „ 725) -	—	723
6th „ („ „ 724) -	—	722
7th „ („ „ 723) = 6th year of Hezekiah, but according to xviii. 9.	—	
4th year of Hezekiah - - - - -	—	721
Salmanassar attacks Hosea, and makes him pay tribute (xvii. 3). Hosea makes an alliance with Pharaoh Sevekh (So, properly Sva') (xvii. 4.). Beginning of the siege of Samaria, which lasted 3 years (xvii. 5.).		
8th year, second of the siege - - -	—	720
9th „ third „ „ - - -	—	719
Samaria is taken, and the people carried away to Assyria and Media (xvii. 6.).		

III. Chronology of the Kings of Judah from the Year after the Destruction of Samaria to the Year of the Destruction of Jerusalem.

Hezekiah:
- 7th year, or the year after the destruction of Samaria - - - - - 719
- 29th year † - - - - - 696

Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah, aged 12 years, reigned 55 (xx. 21.—xxi. 1.):
- 1st year - - - - - 695
- 55th „ † - - - - - 641

Amon, son of Manasseh, aged 22, reigned 2 years (xxi. 19.):
- 1st year - - - - - 640
- 2nd „ † - - - - - 639

Josiah, son of Amon, 8 years old, reigned 31 years (xxii. 1.):
- 1st year - - - - - 638
- 31st „ † at the battle of Megiddo (xxiii. 29.) 608

Jehoiakim (whose name previously was Eliakim), younger son of Josiah, made king instead of his father by Necho, aged 25 years, reigned 11 (xxiii. 36):
- 1st year - - - - - 607
- 3rd „ Battle of Karchemish (last year of Nabopolassar, comp. Jer. xxv. 1., xlvi. 2.). Jehoiakim pays tribute - - - 605
- 4th year = 1st year of Nebuchadnezzar - 604
- 11th „ deposed - - - - 598

Jehoiakin (Jeconiah), king, aged 18, reigned 3 months (xxiv. 8.).
- Nebuchadnezzar burns and pillages the palace and temple, and carries away Jehoiakin to Babylon, with his mother and court, in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar (xxiv. 12.).

Zedekiah (then Mattaniah), the uncle of Jehoiakin,

is made king in Jerusalem as a tributary, aged 21; he reigned 11 years (xxiv. 18.) - 597
1st year, the year after Jehoiakin was made prisoner, and carried away by Nebuchadnezzar in his 8th year (xxiv. 12.), consequently in the year - - - 596
8th year: Zedekiah rebels against the king of Babylon (xxiv. 20.; comp. xxv. 1.)= Nebuchadnezzar's 16th year=Hophra 2 - 589
9th year, 10th month, 10th day. Nebuchadnezzar lays siege to Jerusalem (xxv. 1.) - 588
11th year, 4th month, 9th day. Nebuchadnezzar storms Jerusalem (xxv. 2, 3.). Zedekiah has his eyes put out - - 586
11th year, 5th month, 7th day. The temple and palace burnt (xxv. 8. seq.) - - - —

There are no internal difficulties or contradictions in this chronology. It harmonizes, also, from beginning to end with the Egyptian, which offers several synchronisms with it, and these of an important historical character.

It is likewise directly corroborated by the repeated references in the last 20 years to the years of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the era of Nabonassar, which has astronomical warranty.

The difficulties and contradictions which some have supposed to exist here, are such only in appearance. We shall prove this to our readers in the clearest manner, by collating all the notices which refer to this period, first out of the Book of Kings, and then out of the Book of Jeremiah.

2 Kings xxiv. 12. Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year, consequently 597=the year of the 3 months of Jeconiah (Jehoiakin).

2 Kings xxv. 8. Nebuchadnezzar's 19th year, consequently 586=the year of the sack of Jerusalem; consequently Zedekiah 11.

The perfect accord between these two data, and between them and the Jewish chronology, is self-evident.

The following are the data in the Book of Jeremiah:

1. Jer. xxxii. 1., the 10th year of Zedekiah is said to coincide with the 18th of Nebuchadnezzar; according to this again, therefore, the last year of Zedekiah coincides with the 19th of Nebuchadnezzar.
2. The accordance is the same when, in Jer. xxv. 1., the 4th year of Jehoiakim is said to coincide with the 1st of Nebuchadnezzar, i. e. the year 604. The battle of Circesium was certainly won by Nebuchadnezzar, but when he was heir to the throne. It was here that he received the news of his father's death, and hastened with a troop of horse through the desert to Babylon, to take possession of the throne. This year, therefore, in unison with the invariable law of the canon, is reckoned as the last of Nabonassar, and corresponds with the 3rd of Jehoiakim.
3. The statement, therefore, in Jer. xlvi. 3., introductory to the prophecy about Nebuchadnezzar's approaching victory over Pharaoh-Necho, that this battle took place in the 4th year of Jehoiakim, must have been owing to a blunder in respect to the history. But it evidently was not written by the first editor, Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, but by some later compiler of the prophetic writings.
4. The case is the same with the subsequent entries in the 52nd chapter, which was added, after the time of Ezra, to Baruch's version. Here the above 8th year is called the 59th, and the year of the sack the 19th (instead of the 18th); the other data in this chapter must, therefore, be interpreted on

the same principle, that is, be pushed back one year.

They are as follows:

1. The 7th year, in which Nebuchadnezzar carried away 3023 Jews from Jerusalem. This must be the 6th:
2. The year in which he carried away 832, the 18th, must be the 17th.
3. The year in which Nebuzaradan carried away 745, the 23rd (ver 30.) must be the 22nd.
4. The 37th after the captivity, in which Evil-Merodach took Jehoiakin out of prison, must be the 36th. There is direct proof in this case of the correctness of our assumption. This year, the first of Evil-Merodach, is established by the astronomical canon to be the year 561, or the 36th after Jehoiakin was led away captive.

IV. CHRONOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL RETROSPECT OF THE TWO SERIES OF KINGS.

As regards, first of all, the chronology, we have only found it necessary to make a single alteration in the date of a reign, which will explain all the entries in the two lists. The new chronological epoch commences with Jehu (882). Here the two series must have agreed, and they do so. In the next sixty years (down to Jeroboam II., 821) the chronology of the kingdom of Israel is actually only one year behind, and only in one entry, which is manifestly corrupt, four years.

Upon the accession of Hezekiah (724), we find everything again in the ordinary channel, that is, the chronology of the kingdom of Israel is two years behind the correct date of that of Judah.

But in the interval, almost a century, from the accession of Jeroboam II., there is a discrepancy of 20 years. This arises, according to our view, from an error

of transcription at an early date, and one which very easily might have been made in the regnal years of Jeroboam, 41 instead of 61. The chronicler, in making the comparative estimate, hit upon the most natural way of getting over it, namely, by dividing the 20 years between the two kingdoms. The consequence was, that the chronology of Judah was 10 years in advance of the true date, that of Israel 10 years behind it. This made the accession of Ahaz, the father of Hezekiah, to occur in 731, instead of 740; that of Pekah, king of Israel, who was slain by Hosea, in 757 instead of 747.

The two together make a difference of 20 years, and they accordingly furnish an argument in favour of our restoration.

But the statement in the text, "that Amaziah, king of Judah, the contemporary and rival of Joash, king of Israel, reigned 15 years after the death of Joash," is positive testimony in that behalf. Ewald very justly remarks that this entry must have been made designedly, inasmuch as there is no other of a like kind in the whole list of kings. This may easily be accounted for on our hypothesis. The author of this systematic connected narrative was aware of the confusion in the chronology, but did not see clearly how to get out of the difficulty. He accordingly inserted the above remark, which he found in some other record, as being an established fact, that Amaziah reigned 15 years after the death of Joash, king of Israel.

This is the precise result of our chronological restoration. But the whole course of the internal history of the two kingdoms bears very direct evidence to the fact that upon our hypothesis all the dates drop into their proper places.

In the first place, as already remarked, from the reigns of Hezekiah and Hosea onwards, all runs smoothly, both as regards the history and chronology.

But even at the accession of Jeroboam II., when this confusion which lasted a hundred years commenced, there would seem to be no other way of explaining the singular fact, that during the two long contemporary reigns, the fifty-two years of Uzziah, king of Judah, and the sixty-one of Jeroboam, king of Israel, both kingdoms were powerful abroad, and never came into collision with each other.

The date of the accession of Jeroboam II. is not known, but there is nothing at variance with the hypothesis which is required by our chronology, that he was a very young man at that time, perhaps ten or twelve years old. Joash began to reign in Judah at seven.

Uzziah, we know on the other hand, to have been sixteen at his accession. His father had had time to recover from the serious consequences of his thoughtless war against Israel, when governed by the youthful Jeroboam. The house of Jehu indeed had no deep-seated religious rancour against a royal house of Judah which professed the worship of Jehovah.

Uzziah, therefore, (as our accounts assume,) might, on his accession, have been at the head of a strong constitutional state, as well as in possession of a well-filled treasury.

The conquests of Jeroboam were probably made in his riper years, not before the reign of Uzziah consequently. They were no bar to the prosperity of Judah, any more than the prosperity of Judah was a bar to the prosperity of Israel. Jeroboam conquered the country to the north; Uzziah extended his kingdom to the south and west.

C.

COMPUTATION OF THE PERIOD FROM THE IMMIGRATION OF JACOB INTO EGYPT TO THE EXODUS.

I. The Sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt must have been of very considerable Duration.

Every one who has reflected seriously and earnestly upon the different accounts of the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt collected by us in the First Book will have come to the same conclusion as ourselves, that the 430 years of the Hebrew version (Ex. xii. 40.) are better authenticated than the 215 years of the Septuagint and Samaritan version: but even the origin of that date becomes matter of grave consideration, when we compare it with the 400 years and four generations, which are assigned to it in the prophetical passage of Gen. xv. 13. We are now in possession of very different materials for solving the problem. We have found a framework of general history, and it only remains for us to make the sacred tradition fit into it. We will first pass in review the historical facts which compel us to infer that their residence in Lower Egypt was of very long duration.

The time required for a single family to grow into a people of at least two millions, is of itself sufficient to force us to such a conclusion. The criticisms of Tuch and Ewald show beyond all doubt that the number of seventy persons, children and grandchildren of Jacob, including himself, was an historical tradition.

The first 33 (Gen. xlvi. 15.), exclusive of him, are only 32. namely, his six sons by Leah with their 25 grandchildren (ver. 9—14.), and Dinah. Then 16 are enumerated (ver. 18.), namely, Gad and Asher and their children. After them (ver. 22.) 14, namely, Joseph and

his two children, and Benjamin and his ten children: and last of all (ver. 25.) 7 are mentioned. Dan with one son, and Naphtali with four. Consequently, 33+16+7=70. (ver. 27.) Exclusive of Jacob and Joseph and his two children, there remain 66, which is the exact number of those who "came in." (ver. 26.)

This whole number, it is true, did not include Jacob's daughters-in-law, supposing it not to be admitted that the sons were all widowers when they went into Egypt. Tradition may have given the preference to the number 70, because it was repeated in the number of the Elders, who judged the people under Moses. But it is an authentic and well corroborated number, neither an invention nor a myth. The accuracy of the tradition is obvious, from the express mention being made of the members of Jacob's household who died before they left Canaan. We shall show forthwith that Benjamin might very well have had ten children at that time, as is stated in the 21st verse. Bohlen's hasty and uncritical notion, that the number is a pure invention, is unsupported by history, and it is gratifying to see that Duncker has again in this instance exhibited the tact and judgment of an historian.[149] This is the second record we possess from the patriarchal history of the race of Abraham, and it is more authentic than the earlier one, which is the story of the war between the four kings and the five, rounded off into an epic form by oral transmission. (Gen. xiv.)

In the same account of the journey, however, it is also stated (Gen. xlvi. 6. 32.), that Jacob took with him his cattle and the goods which he had gotten in Canaan. This means, therefore, his bondsmen and servants, and his maids. Abraham had 318 persons of his household fighting men. We may, therefore, fairly estimate the dependents of Jacob at between 1000 and 2000. But

[149] Comp. Ewald, Hist. i. 527. seq. Antiq. p. 287. seq. Tuch on Genesis xlvi. 8—27.

the increase of this class of persons must have been considerably slower than that of their masters, for they could not marry without obtaining permission, which must have depended upon the want of labourers. Egypt was at that time thickly populated, even though the pastoral district may have been uninhabited. This, however, does not mean exclusively the land of Goshen, the limits of which were very much curtailed to the north and east by the wilderness, to the south and west by the great cities, especially Heliopolis. Joseph made his brethren and nephews the chief herdsmen or rulers of the royal flocks. (xlvii. 6.) The royal pasture grounds were evidently scattered through the whole of Lower Egypt, and two or three years afterwards the Crown possessed the whole of the land except the temple property of the priests (xlvii. 22.): and what fertile pasturage there was in the Fayoom very soon after!

It has been supposed, and, as I think, without the slightest grounds, that the Israelites in the time of Moses were exclusively limited to Goshen, or as it is also called, the district around Raamses. This unnecessarily increases the difficulty of explaining the account of the Exodus, if it does not even render the explanation impossible. It is, as we have seen from the outset, not historical. All the Egyptian traditions in Manetho and the Alexandrian writers are, indeed, based upon the assumption that the Jews were scattered at that time over the whole of Egypt, or at least of Lower Egypt. This is the reason why they were an abomination to the Egyptians, whose Gods they despised; and they consequently stigmatised them by the opprobrious name of lepers and unclean. The whole history of this marvellous race proves them to be adepts in trafficking all over the world, but as far as blood was concerned they were already superior to the Egyptians, as all the Semitic races are still superior to their posterity, to say nothing of the Iranians. The reason why no mention is made about

them and their history, in our narrative of the Exodus, except in Goshen, is simply the epic unity which throws everything into the background which had no reference to the one divine act of their deliverance.

We must not form a lower estimate of the matter than it deserves. The Exodus was an episode in the civil and religious war by which Egypt was distracted for years, and from which it never recovered.

More than 600,000 fighting men withdrew under Moses, after a protracted, and at length not a bloodless struggle. They withdrew, as it is said, "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm."

The first and accurate numbering of the people, according to the muster-rolls from which the so-called fourth Book of Moses was gradually composed, the numbering on Mount Sinai, mentions 603,550 fighting men of twenty years old, exclusive of the tribe of Levi. When the Israelites, were encamped on the Jordan, near Jericho —according to our computation about the 22nd year of the Exodus, that is, more than twenty years after the first numbering —the muster-roll showed 601,730 men capable of bearing arms above twenty years of age. (Num. xxv. xxvi.) It is quite clear that this muster-roll must either be a contemporary record, or else an impudent invention and imposture. Here there are no expedients to resort to of oral tradition or epic embellishment. Nothing can be more dry or meagre than the account, and it is impossible to regard it in any other light than authentic. The number itself is perfectly credible, regard being had to its relation to the previous numbering. The Israelites had suffered heavy losses by sickness and war, by hardships and necessarily severe discipline. This will account for the falling off in the number of grown-up men, although the births had unquestionably increased, and although they had been settled beyond Jordan for the last sixteen or eighteen years in comfortable quarters.

There is consequently no necessity for Ewald's supposition that the first census comprised their allies the Kenites, the kinsfolk of Jethro. Not a word is said of their being incorporated into the eleven tribes. Such an assumption might have been requisite had their numbers materially increased.

If the grown-up men of the eleven tribes, between twenty and fifty, amounted to 600,000, the whole body of the twelve tribes must have numbered at least two millions. Besides these there may perhaps have been half a million of Palestinians of the Hyksos race, and the other mixed multitude who joined them when they left Egypt.

It is just as easy or impossible to explain how these people could subsist with their flocks, or by means of their flocks, for two years and a half, as it would be in the case of 250,000. That is to say, in the present state of the country it would be an utter impossibility, admitting even all the extraordinary interpositions which are recorded in the narrative.

But it is quite evident that things were then in a very different state, inhabited as the country was by warlike and powerful Arab races, and when the Pharoahs had established Egyptian colonies there for many centuries. Indeed the accounts given by intelligent travellers in that part of the world, for the last 70 years, prove that a few thousand years of neglect and devastation are enough to bring a country into its actual state of desolation. There is no want of either springs or brooks, or cultivable soil; but the former are wasted in morasses or the sand, the latter is swept away by the violence of the torrents where nothing is supplied by the hand of man: whereas the construction of terraces, of dàms, and of dykes, not only preserves a supply of water and productive soil, but improves and increases them.

It was this which made Yemen, many centuries before the time of Moses, for a long period the paradise of

Arabia, and which laid the foundation of that mighty and civilised empire, which, like the glory of the Fayoom, disappeared from off the face of the earth when the dams were broken through. There is authentic evidence of this in the inscriptions which have lately been discovered.[150]

The two countries are similar in every respect, in so far at least as to offer the possibility of giving a satisfactory explanation of the Israelites having subsisted for two years and a half in the Peninsula of Sinai, with the Tabernacle as a centre, and after the country had been parcelled out right and left according to the settled order of the tribes. Besides which, the caravans at that time brought regular supplies of many of the necessaries of life, and Ezion-Geber, the port on the Red Sea, which was surrounded by a very fertile district, might also have furnished them with provisions in abundance.

II. THE NUMBER 215 IS THE MEASURE OF THE PERIOD OF BONDAGE, OR OF THE LAST SECTION OF THE SOJOURN IN EGYPT.

WE have already so thoroughly established the truth of this proposition by a connected criticism of the Egyptian monuments, both royal and national, as well as by the statements of Manetho, for which there is authentic warranty, that it will be unnecessary on the present occasion to do more than briefly adduce the last results of the Egyptian evidence, for the sake of corroborating that supplied by Jewish history.

Their bondage could not have commenced as long as the Hyksos occupied Avaris, and consequently not till after their withdrawal. This event took place in the single reign of Tuthmōsis III., which commenced B.C. 1544. Now that monarch had set out on his fifth campaign to Asia as early as 1538, which therefore

[150] See the Outlines of the Philosophy of Language and Religion, vol. i.: Himyaric Inscriptions.

makes the date of the first, at latest, 1542. Supposing these campaigns to have been directed towards Phœnicia, or to the Euphrates, he must have expelled the Hyksos from Avaris as early as the second year of his reign, or 1543. But the bondage need not necessarily have commenced on that account in 1542, only it could not have commenced earlier. Adding on 215 years to this date, the Exodus would have taken place in 1326, that is, six years earlier than we have assumed, one year before the accession of Menephthah. It is unnecessary, however, to fix upon the year 1542 as the beginning of it. The earlier campaigns can hardly have reached beyond the frontiers of South Palestine, their object being to cut off the supplies of the besieged Hyksos. The first mention made of actual conquests in Asia (Mesopotamia), or Mauritania (Ludim), was during the later campaigns, which lasted till 1527. Adding 215 years from that year, the Exodus would have taken place at the earliest in 1313. But Tuthmōsis may have commenced his persecution of the Israelites as soon as he had expelled the Shepherds and had made a few successful campaigns in Asia, by which Egypt was relieved, and then have continued his campaigns in Asia. There is, consequently, nothing to interfere with our assuming that the 215th year before 1320, or 1535 (the tenth year of the single reign of Tuthmōsis III.), was the year in which the bondage commenced. It is singular also that no buildings are known to have been erected by that powerful and energetic Pharaoh prior to his tenth year. The forced labour required for these buildings must naturally have been the hard task-work to which the Israelites were subjected.

The remarkable coincidence between the historical possibilities and facts, and the biblical tradition of 215 years, and the year 1320 as being the year of the Exodus, evidently gives a totally different character to that date. That the coincidence should be accidental,

it is difficult to believe. The Scripture date of 215 years is intended to mark the length of the bondage, the earlier portion of the sojourn in Egypt could not have been in reality one of bondage under the Pharaohs. When Lower Egypt was in the hands of kindred races from Palestine and Arabia, it is barely possible that the descendants of Jacob who were already settled there could have been their bond-servants. The Bible, indeed, not only never intimates any such thing; but on the contrary, expressly states that it was a Pharaoh who imposed the yoke upon them,—that it was a king "who knew not Joseph,"—a ruler of the empire which had been reconquered from the confines of Upper Egypt.

A writer, therefore, whose object it was to fix the date prior to the bondage, and who had no chronological data to guide him, would not be unlikely to make the whole term of the sojourn double that of the bondage; and hence the origin of the 430 years. In truth, this is the process by which the length of the period immediately preceding, between the immigration of Abraham into Canaan and the journey of Jacob into Egypt, is made up. It again is fixed at 215 years, although, as we shall see, according to the strict dates of the Bible, it can only be 130.

The 430 years, consequently, have not grown out of the four prophetic centuries or generations spoken of in Abraham's vision — how indeed could they have done so?

We are once more, therefore, thrown back upon Egyptian chronology and history.

III. THE IMMIGRATION OF THE ISRAELITES INTO EGYPT DID NOT TAKE PLACE UNDER THE HYKSOS, BUT UNDER THE PHARAOHS, NAMELY, UNDER THE SESORTOSIDÆ, AND INDEED UNDER SESORTŌSIS I.

THE Bible narrative is derived from a purely authentic tradition about the immigration, dating from

the days of Jacob and Joseph. Any attempt to couple it with the notion of Joseph having been a Shepherd King himself, or the minister of a Shepherd King, would deprive it of its historical basis.

I have already, in my preliminary treatment of the question of synchronisms, when illustrating the history of the 12th Dynasty, established this proposition, which is self-evident to any person of common sense, and familiar with the Bible. Since that time, Lepsius, in his "Introduction," has completed the proof.

The result, however, when applied to Egyptian history, is simply this, that Joseph was the minister of one of the Sesortosidæ.

The question is, which of the first three Sesortosidæ was the real "Sesostris," in whose reign, according to Herodotus, that vast and important change was made in the rights of property in Egypt, by which the whole of the real estate, excepting the lands of the priests, became the domains of the crown. This has been discussed at some length in a previous volume. It appears from Lepsius' discoveries at Semneh in Upper Nubia, above Wadi Halfa, that Sesortosen III. erected fortifications and other works of gigantic extent there, and that the greatest hero of the Tuthmōsis family, the third of the name, paid divine honours to the memory of his great ancestor in two temples. De Rougé has ingeniously shown that this attribution of divine honours to the Pharaoh of the empire after the restoration is unique in Egyptian history. Tuthmōsis IV. erected also the temple of Amada in Nubia to the same Sesortosen, in which country we find another temple dedicated to him, where he is styled "The God, the great Lord of Nubia!"

This third Sesortōsis (with the throne-scutcheon: Sun, Diadem, Adorations, Ra Sah Karu) is, consequently, the most eminent personage in the second period of the 12th Dynasty, and not his elder co-regent, Sesortōsis II.

(Ra Sah Kheper). Amenemha IV., however, who built the Labyrinth, and made Lake Mœris, is the hero of the third, as Sesortōsis I. is of the first (which lasted forty-nine years). We have, therefore, three great kings: Sesortōsis I. the founder, Sesortōsis III., and Amenemha IV. The vast buildings erected by the latter seem to have weakened the empire, which shortly after fell into decay. It was the real conqueror and hero who raised the power of the family to its culminating point; but it was the first who enriched it by laying a tax upon all the land in the country except the temple estates. In his reign Joseph collected the treasures, and founded the financial prosperity of the empire, which furnished Sesortōsis III. with the means of erecting those gigantic works high up in Nubia, and enabled Amenemha IV. to undertake the grandest of them all, by which Egypt acquired the most fertile of its provinces.

In one meagre epitome of Manetho's criticism of Herodotus, this is said to have been done by the great hero, to whom he applied certain of the main features in the Sesostris-tradition of Herodotus, and others to Sethōsis the father of Ramses II., the hero of the 19th Dynasty. It by no means follows, however, that Herodotus did not also introduce some circumstances connected with the reign of the first Sesortosis into his history of Sesostris, as he has mixed up the Sesortosen traditions with those of the Ramessides.

Joseph might just as well have been made vicegerent by the second or third, as by the first Sesortōsis. The question is settled, however, in favour of the first by a very unexpected and singular discovery. We find that this sovereign was first of all co-regent with the founder of the dynasty, Amenemha I., and afterwards reigned alone twenty-three years, so that he seems to have reigned in all forty-five years. The monuments testify to his colonisation in the heart of the Peninsula of

Sinai, and to his conquests over the Kushites. His two obelisks and the remarkable tombs in Upper Egypt, with their Doric pilasters, display a similar picture of power and civilisation. The high estimation in which he was held among the great Pharaohs of the New Empire, is evinced by the fact of Rameses the Great causing his name to be engraved on the sitting statue of this old ruler, which now adorns the Berlin Museum.

There is authentic proof that in his reign a terrible famine raged in Egypt.

We are indebted to Birch for this unforeseen confirmation and more accurate determination of the synchronism of Joseph and the first Sesortosis, by deciphering a remarkable tomb-inscription of the lieutenant of Amenemha, which was published in the great work of the Prussian expedition. The person entombed states that he was governor of a district in Upper Egypt under the above king, and is made to say: [151]

"When, in the time of Sesortosis I., the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine."

Nobody would venture to build up a synchronism upon such a notice as this; but admitting that Joseph was vicegerent of one of the three Sesortosidæ, and that he owed his power and consideration to his foresight in providing against the seven years of scarcity, no one will contend that such a notice is not deserving of very great attention, and it must turn the scale in favour of Sesortosis I.

But the more I think over the development and chronology of Egypt, the more convinced I am that the juxtaposition of these two personages is certain and incontrovertible. The proof is completed by the present restoration of the Jewish chronology in the

151 Leps. Mon. of Pruss. Exp. iv. 122. Comp. Brugsch, Travels.

periods between Abraham and the immigration of Jacob, and from thence to the Exodus as the sequel will show.

In proceeding to arrange more exactly in our tables the date of the famine and the administration of Joseph, we must limit ourselves to the 23 years of the sole reign, for the Pharaoh of Joseph was clearly sole monarch of Egypt. None indeed but a sovereign of this character could have raised a discreet Palestinian, the former slave of one of his chief officers, to the post of viceroy. Of these 23 years we must at all events claim 14 as the critical years, seven of plenty and seven of scarcity. Immediately after his happy interpretation of Pharaoh's dream, Joseph travelled through the country to make the necessary arrangements for establishing storehouses, and for laying up the quota which was taken from the people who had been blessed with an excess, or the fifth part of the harvest, which they were obliged to furnish at a stipulated price. Had a longer period intervened between the interpretation and its fulfilment, had not the extraordinarily favourable nature of the inundation at the ensuing solstice immediately verified the words of the gifted and prudent seer, the Pharaoh would not have intrusted him with so much power.

But which was the year of the Dream? Most probably the year of the accession, or the first year of the sole reign of Sesortosis I. The whole transaction is characteristic of a ruler who had just entered on the zenith of his power. The solemn dedication of the sovereign in the temple of Ptah at Memphis was probably connected with sleeping in the temple (Incubation), and certainly with some exciting religious ceremonies. It was more natural that he should have a foreboding dream then than at any other time. Assuming this to be the case, all the rest tallies. The whole narrative shows that the seven years of scarcity all occurred in

his reign. Towards the end of the second of these, Jacob went with all his family down into Egypt, and the Pharaoh who provided for them was clearly the same who made Joseph ruler throughout all the land, and honoured him as the saviour of the country, and the founder of the financial prosperity of Egypt.

Seventeen years after this Joseph is in a very different position. There is nothing more thoroughly historical than the description of the funeral procession which Joseph ordered for conveying the embalmed body of Jacob with great state from Goshen to Hebron. (Gen. l.) He did not, however, personally request the Pharaoh's permission to make this solemn procession, nor for those who accompanied it to return into Egypt, but did it through some of his household. It is said (ver. 4, 5.): "And when the days of his mourning were past, Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, Let me go up I pray thee and bury my father, and I will come again." This was not the language which Joseph would have used had he been "ruler over all the land of Egypt." He is a wealthy man, and in the enjoyment of high consideration, but far from being one "who stood before Pharaoh," as he is said to have done (xli. 46.); and far from going as the "alter ego" of the king throughout all Egypt to make all his arrangements with the fullest powers, he causes an unpretentious personal supplication to be made to the reigning sovereign through some of the courtiers, and begs a good word from them in his behalf, when he says, "If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak I pray you in the ears of Pharaoh."

According to our tables, Sesortosis I. became sole ruler in the year 2755. The year in which Jacob came into Egypt (the second year of famine), consequently, would be 2747 or 2746, the 9th or 10th year of his reign.

If, therefore, we had a fixed date for the age of Joseph when, in that solemn world-important moment, he stood before the first Sesortosis in the first year of his reign, we should have a turning-point for the whole chronology of the Abrahamites, which perhaps might lead us up to the immigration of Abraham itself.

Now Scripture expressly tells us in narrating the wonderful effect which Joseph produced by the interpretation of Pharaoh's dream (xli. 46.):

"And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. And Joseph went out from the presence of Pharaoh, and went throughout all the land of Egypt."

He had consequently been from 12 to 13 years in the country, for he was sold thither when his brethren were tending their flocks in Sichem, and his father sent him to them (xxxvii. 12—36.). It would seem that he was thus sent immediately after he had been keeping the sheep in common with his brethren, as is implied in the narrative about his dreams (xxxvii. 5—11.). But the whole story is thus introduced (verse 2.):

"Joseph, being seventeen years old, was feeding the flocks with his brethren."

This brings us then to the year 2768. But Joseph's birth took place 30 years, at all events, before his elevation to power, consequently in or about the year 2785.

The year of his birth, again, is fixed by the thoroughly historical, though purely personal, account of Jacob's servitude with his maternal uncle Laban in Mesopotamia. We take this, therefore, as a starting-point for computing the first period of Jewish history.

D.

THE COMPUTATION OF THE PERIOD FROM THE IMMIGRATION OF ABRAHAM INTO CANAAN TO THE ENTRANCE OF JACOB INTO EGYPT.

I. The Historical and the Unhistorical Dates.—The Method of solving the Chronology.

Jacob, as Scripture informs us, married Leah, the elder daughter of Laban, after a servitude of seven years, and a week afterwards her lovely and beloved sister Rachel, in consequence of which Jacob bound himself to overlook Laban's flocks for seven more years. It was in the last of these fourteen years that Rachel, after so many years of barrenness, bore him a son, Joseph, the twelfth child and the eleventh of the sons that Leah and the two handmaidens of his wives had borne him in the meantime. This date is very accurately laid down in the simple narrative (Gen. xxx. 25,):

"And it came to pass, when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Jacob said unto Laban, Send me away, that I may go unto mine own place, and to my country."

Laban, however, persuaded him to stay, and inquired upon what terms he would serve him for a further period. The terms were agreed upon. They were advantageous to Laban, but Jacob became a rich man, which created ill humour and murmuring. Laban being ill-disposed towards him, Jacob fled away secretly with his wife and children and all that he had. Laban hastened after him, and a parley ensued between them, in the course of which Jacob said (xxxi. 41.):

"Thus have I been twenty years in thy house; I served thee fourteen years for thy two daughters, and six years for thy cattle."

It is very easy for complacent critics to say that these dates are mythical, whereas the only thing about the matter which looks mythical is our ignorance of the history of those times.

But how old was Jacob when he was sent, twenty years before, into Mesopotamia? He was evidently a grown-up man of about twenty years, certainly not much more or less. He was sent by his father to his maternal uncle, at the pressing desire of his mother. Rebecca could not bear the idea of his marrying one of the daughters of Heth, whom she abominated. (xxvii. 46., xxviii. 1, 2.) Jacob, upon his arrival, immediately made himself useful, like a resolute and powerful young man. (xxix. 8—10.)

Looking therefore at the after-connexion between this family history of Joseph and the early history of the Edomites (Esau, the elder brother, is also called Edom, and is the patriarch of that primeval race), in which the young suitor is a man of forty, and celebrates his nuptials with two sisters at about fifty, our calculation cannot be wrong above two or three years. But what signification it has in reference to the history of Esau, and the number forty which is connected with it, we shall see hereafter in the sequel.

Jacob must consequently have been born when his father was about six and thirty. For it can hardly be a historical fact, that Abraham, who was far advanced in years, and who might have expected his death every day after the birth of Isaac, and who had so earnestly and so long desired to see an heir of his body—it can hardly be historical that he should have lived to see this only son of his old age a man of forty, a time of life at which in Palestine men were commonly grandfathers. If we will only deal with the principal narrative in a

spirit of confidence as being true, and therefore possible, there will be no difficulty in unravelling the origin of the unhistorical portion of it. This solitary heir of the patriarchal emir could not have been at most more than sixteen when the faithful Eliezer was commissioned to seek a wife for him from his own land and his own house.

This gives us accordingly a fixed date for the birth of Isaac, and likewise the 25th year of the immigration of Abraham, and the latter therefore must correspond with the 2876th year B.C.

As regards Abraham's age at the immigration, it is a matter of no moment for the chronological arrangement of the above all-important event.

According to the present systematic narrative, Isaac was born when his father had reached his hundredth year. This is a statement with which an historian cannot deal any more than he can with the ages of the four patriarchs. According to this epical account,

Abraham lived	-	-	175 years.
Isaac ,,	-	-	180
Jacob ,,	-	-	147
Joseph ,,	-	-	110

Here it is not a question of a solitary exception in the case of one individual. It is true that no instance can be adduced demonstrably historical of any one reaching the age of 180; such a case, however, as an exception, would not contravene the laws of nature. But that the three patriarchs should have lived, one after the other, 150 years and even more, and the viceroy Joseph, their successor, 110, cannot be historical. There must be a means of detecting some blunder here, or else the historical nature of the narrative will be liable to grave suspicion. None but those who still cling to the infatuation that the antediluvian patriarchs, as well as Noah and Shem, lived from 600 to 1000 years, have any excuse to offer for such purely childish delusions, per-

sistence in which can only be productive of doubt and unbelief.

But there is no country in which it is so improbable that a man of a hundred years old should have a son as in a land of early development like Syria and Canaan. But are we compelled on that account to regard these four dates of the ages of the patriarchs, and the statement about Abraham, as pure inventions? No one who admits the strictly historical character of the principal branch in the family narrative of this period will come to such a conclusion.

If Joseph were the representative of an Egyptian Pharaoh towards the close of the empire of Menes, if his father Jacob, with all his household, went down into Egypt in his time, settled there, and was solemnly interred by him, Jacob is just as historical a personage as Joseph himself, and so therefore was his grandfather, who first immigrated into Canaan.

But then this family must also have possessed an era, as was always the case among the noble Semitic races, and this era must have been that of the immigration of Abraham. Indeed, the very consciousness of the family having formed a whole, separated off from the other races, and personally dedicated to God the Creator of heaven and earth, and that it had a future, all turns upon that question.

Again, if Joseph formed a distinct era as being the personage who elevated not himself only, but the whole house of Jacob, to the lofty position which he won for them in the land of civilisation and of plenty, that era must have been computed by the years of his father.

If by simply following out these two assumptions the above dates should be susceptible of a natural explanation; and if at the same time the computation, the cardinal point of which was the synchronism of the first year of Sesortosen's reign and the 30th year of Joseph's age, reckoning backwards should harmonize with it,

such a result can hardly be said to be merely accidental.

There are several other points which must be taken into account in discussing this question.

Joseph died in the 110th year (that is, as we shall presently see, of the era of Jacob), and had great grandchildren—the grandchildren of his two sons, Manasseh and Ephraim were born in his lifetime. (Gen. l. 22—26.) We know that when he was 30 years old, Pharaoh gave him to wife the daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis, and that she bare him these two sons, both indeed within seven years after his marriage. For it is expressly stated (xli. 50. seqq.):

"And unto Joseph were born two sons before the years of famine came, which Asenath the daughter of Potipherah priest of On bare unto him. And Joseph called the name of the first-born Manasseh . . . and the name of the second called he Ephraim."

If then the second, Ephraim, was already born in his 36th year, it is singular that the fact of Ephraim having grandchildren in his lifetime should be adduced in proof of his having attained to a great and happy old age. For it is not probable that the sons and sons' sons of the former viceroy, who possessed such treasures and was a man of such high consideration, would have had much difficulty in finding wives. If therefore we suppose the marriage of the first to have taken place in Joseph's 54th year, that of the second in his 74th, we are not going beyond the bounds of custom and probability. In the cases of the sons of the kings of Judah, the 16th year is the one mentioned as the ordinary year in which they married.

If Joseph died in the 110th year of Jacob, he lived to the age of 78, and the narrative bears its natural signification. But if 32 years are to be added to this, his great-great-grandchildren ought also to have been men-

tioned, in order to show that he also was a highly favoured patriarch.

II. THE NUMBER 147 IS THE TRADITIONAL HISTORICAL ENTRY OF THE LENGTH OF THE PERIOD.

THE subjoined table of the dates of the house of Abraham, from the immigration into Canaan down to the journey to Egypt, is so framed as to show the main features of the two series, in juxtaposition: the chronology, as it has been transmitted to us, on one side, and the same restored upon the basis of the Scripture dates themselves, on the other.

The reader will here find an account taken of every date which occurs in the Scripture narrative. Whatever is determined upon grounds of internal probability, such as the births of Isaac and Jacob, is placed in brackets. There cannot, therefore, be an error of more than two or three years at most. Those which are placed in parentheses are such as arise out of the entries in the Bible in reference to years of marriage. These are consequently in themselves thoroughly authentic. All the other dates are taken directly from the Bible. In the history of Abraham we find two predominant numbers, the 75th year (that of the immigration) and the 100th, the birth of Isaac. In this interval so many events occurred also, as to require a considerably long sojourn in Canaan prior to his birth.

We assume therefore

75 as the year before the birth of Isaac;
25 as the duration of the sojourn in Canaan; and, consequently,
51 as the first year of the settlement in Canaan.

But there is also a place for the 100th year (which is said to be that of the birth of Isaac), as the year

in which Abraham died. This again cannot be accidental. The computation backwards, the turning-point of which is so historically important and well-established, leads directly to the same conclusion.

According to this Jacob died in the 147th year, not of his own life, but of the era from the immigration of Abraham. Joseph again, in the 110th year, not of his own age, but of the era of Jacob, from whom (as Israel) the whole race derived their name, as do their remarkable descendants down to this day.

Isaac is said to have lived 180 years. According to our restoration, the 180th year of Abraham (calculating from his birth) would be the year of the immigration (130); and so this date was assigned to the father of Jacob, as being the last year in which he could have died.

The following, however, is a more simple solution:

Isaac's 80th year, according to the restoration we have made independently of any reference to his age, is the 105th of the immigration. If Abraham, therefore (as it is stated), went into Canaan at the age of 75, the 180 must have grown out of the 105.

The important result of our restoration to general history is this:

The immigration of Abraham, which has become so memorable, coincides with the beginning of the last quarter of the 29th century B.C. (2877); which corresponds in our tables to the first years of the reign of the 28th king of Eratosthenes in the Empire of Menes, the 8th Dynasty of Manetho.

But the period which we proposed to compute comprises 147 years.

The years enumerated in it are obtained from two sources. The one is an authentic chronology, from the year of the immigration into Canaan; the other, the family histories of Abraham and his son and grandson.

These family histories, the main branch at least

which carries the line down to Joseph, possess not only an historical value, but one also which is determined chronologically. They contain, however, also an admixture of the old hereditary reminiscences about the original connexion of the house of Abraham and Jacob, first with the North-Arabian races (Ishmael and the nations descended from Keturah); and, secondly, with their immediately cognate races, the Edomites, who then lived around the Dead Sea. Israel ("the struggler with God") and Esau ('Hesav, the hairy, shaggy) are primeval mythological names, just as Edom, the other name of Esau, is a purely popular name.

Further notices connected with this subject will be adduced in the Fifth Book out of Sankhuniathon.

At present, we cannot follow up the whole web any farther, although we believe we are justified in saying that it is capable of being unravelled to the very last thread.

Years of Abraham.	Years of the Immigration.	Years of Isaac.	Years of Jacob.
Birth.	(— 75)	(— 25)	(— 60)
1			
75	1 Immigration. Journey to Egypt.		
100	25 Birth of Isaac.		
101	26	1	
140	65	40 Marries Rebecca.	
160	85	60 Birth of Esau and Jacob.	
175 †	160	75	15 Quarrel with Esau about the blessing: is sent into Mesopotamia to marry.
200	125	100	40 or a few years later, 46, 47, or 48.
214	129	114	54 Rachel brings forth Joseph.
(231)	146	131	71 Joseph sold into Egypt.
(280)	(205)	180	
(290)	215	(190)	130 Entrance into Egypt.
(307)		(207)	147 †

Chronol. of Abraham's immigration.	Years of Abraham.	Isaac.	Jacob.	Joseph.	(Manasses and his posterity.)
1	(50)				
25	75				
26	76	1 Isaac marries Rebecca.			
41	91	[16]			
50	100†	(25)			
60	(110)	35 Jacob born, after 20 yrs. barrenness.			
61	(111)	36	1		
79	(129)	54	[19] Enters the service of Laban. (7+7+6.)		
85	(135)	60	(25) Marries Leah and Rachel.		
92	(142)	67	32 Joseph born, last of 14 years' service.		
93	(143)	68	33 First of hired service.	1	
98	(148)	73	38 Last of 6 years' hired service. Flight.	6	
105	(155)	80 †	45	13	
109			49	17 Sold into Egypt.	
122			62	30 Becomes viceroy and marries the daughter of the high priest.	
123			63	[31] Birth of Manasses.	
124			64	(32)	1. Manasses.
130	(180)		70 Immigration.	38 2nd yr. of famine. The brothers, and afterwards Jacob, immigrate.	7. „
140			80	48	17. Birth of Makhir, eldest son of Manasses.
147			87 † (98)	55 66	Makhir, 7 yrs. old. Birth of Perez, eldest son of Makhir, in his 18th yr.
			(110)	78	Joseph's great-grandson, 12 years old.

E.

THE ASIATIC AND EGYPTIAN SYNCHRONISMS OF ABRAHAM AND THOSE OF HIS RACE IN EGYPT.

I. The Fair Claims on Egyptian and Biblical Chronology.

It is, as it seems to me, a very reasonable claim to make at the outset upon Egyptian research and everything connected with it, that it should establish the reality and correctness of the chronology which is either represented by, or is dependent on it, by proving a living connexion, or accordance at least, with other facts in the earliest history of mankind.

But I am not sure whether many of those who make such a claim have considered the consequences resulting from it. It gives investigators a right, indeed it imposes on them the duty, of inquiring how the case stands with the rabbinical chronology, which many conceive themselves bound to defend as biblical or ecclesiastical, just as their predecessors did the motion of the sun round the earth, or some other similar absurdities.

It is a right we purpose to exercise on the present occasion, and a duty we intend to fulfil, only in so far as necessary to substantiate our chronologico-historical assertions in regard to Egypt.

The ordinary chronology, then, we declare to be devoid of any scientific foundation; the interpretation, indeed, by which it is accompanied, when carefully investigated, makes the Bible a tissue of old women's stories and children's tales, which contradict each other. When confronted with authentic chronology, it generally leads to impossible results. It does not har-

monize with anything which historical criticism finds elsewhere, and which it is under the necessity of recognising as established fact. It is, as regards the religious views of educated persons, the same thing as the stories in the Vedas about the world-tortoise are to those who are supposed to believe them—a stone of stumbling, and it will become more and more so every ten years. For it contradicts all reality, and necessitates the denial of facts which are as clear as the sun, or if it does not succeed in that, compels them to be passed over altogether as matters of no moment. In countries where research cannot be prohibited by the police, or is not punishable by excommunication, this indeed in the long run becomes exceedingly laughable, but it does not on that account cease to be immoral.

How stands the case then with the ordinary chronology?

The date of Moses and the Exodus is supposed to coincide with the epoch when the power of the Pharaohs was at its zenith, a time in which conspiracy could not have ventured to break out into open rebellion, and still less have done so with success. The conquest or occupation of Canaan takes place, according to the same chronology, in or before the periods when the country was overrun by conquering armies. The age of Joseph, lastly, and the journey of Jacob into Egypt coincide with the Hyksos period: Abraham, indeed, must coincide with the same period, if with any at all. And all this is said to be for the honour of God and of the Bible, though neither of them know any thing about it.

Our restoration, on the contrary, is based upon the internal and historical data of the Bible itself, and is not complete until their historical value and origin have been submitted to an honest test and analysis. But whatever discovery is made by these means, will, when confronted with the critical history of ancient Asia and Egypt, take its place as an organic member in the

body of general history, and thus will make its position secure.

Having now arrived at the starting-point of the chronological history of the principal personages in the Jewish narrative, we will endeavour to demonstrate this as regards its main features, without forestalling its illustration in the Fifth Book.

II. The Horizon of Abraham: the War of the Babylonians in Canaan and the Natural Phenomenon at the Dead Sea.

Two great events occurred in the life of Abraham which rest on a firm historical footing, and are entirely independent of Jewish history—the fall of Sodom and Gomorrah, and a contest between five chiefs of South Canaan and Arabia Petræa, and four princes of Southern Babylonia.

The great natural phenomenon is so vividly narrated and so intimately connected with the life of Abraham, that it is just as ridiculous to deny the synchronism, as it is to doubt of the truth of the historical fact itself.

Ewald's criticism has so emphatically marked and established the historical character of the narrative in the 14th chapter of Genesis, that it is needless to say anything more about it.

As regards the coincidence between the date we have assigned to Abraham and the above contest—the importance of which is not to be estimated by the limited resources of Abraham, whose simple object was to punish a horde of plundering marauders, but by the extent of country affected by it—we cannot be called upon to do more than prove the negative side, namely, that there is nothing in the Babylonian chronology, as now known to us in its general features, at all at variance with it.

This we can do emphatically, when comparing it with the ordinary assumption. Owing to a mistake in a letter in the Hebrew text, the immigration of Abraham

is fixed at the year 2212 (or 2211) B. C.; according to the unsupported hypothesis of Eusebius, in the year 1240 before the Olympiads, or B.C. 1943. Any attempt to carry it farther back than 2212, by pursuing this system, will be impossible, on account of the date of the Deluge. The immigration of Abraham cannot be placed much earlier, for fear of falling into the rabbinical flood, which is supposed to have occurred in the year of the world 1656, that is, about 2328, or at most 2344 B.C.

But we know that from this year Babylon had become subject to the powerful dynasty of Zoroaster, the king of the Median empire, which ruled there 224 years, consequently down to 2011. All the conventional chronologies of theologians consequently arrive at an impossible date, inasmuch as the king of Elam (Khedorlaomer), as well as the king of Shinar (Amraphel), are no more Bactrians than they are Germans (that is, did not speak Zend or Vedic), but have a completely Semitic type, namely, Babylonian, i. e. Chaldean. For the same reason all the computations of the Christian rabbis are out of the question beyond the year 2010, and they are moreover unfounded. The only foundation for the subsequent calculations is, that they suited the Byzantine chronographers.

If, on the other hand, we look at our own assumption, which places the immigration of Abraham at about 2876, apart even from all internal arguments, the horizon we obtain for the above narrative is in every way suitable.

Babylonian history, as already shown, dates from very early times, but the chronological era arising out of it commences only 1550 years before the Bactro-Median rule in Babylon, consequently 3784 B.C., i. e. 190 years before Menes. The immigration accordingly occurred in the year 908 or 909 of the Babylonian chronology, or 642 years before the Median conquest.

Our narrative harmonizes entirely with this horizon of Western Asia.

The essential point in an historical sense is this. The whole of Canaan and the country east of Jordan, from Basan onwards, was then tributary to the king of Elam (i. e. Southern Babylonia, originally the country to the eastward of the southern portion of the Tigris, Susiana); and not it only, but Arabia Petræa also, Petra, and the adjacent cities. (Gen. xiv. 5—7.) The allied kings of the five cities on the Dead Sea formed consequently but an inconsiderable section of the revolted tribes; and the expedition of Abraham, after the action fought between them and the Babylonians who had advanced to the south (of Kadesh), was simply directed against a detachment of them.

Khedorlaomer, king of South Babylonia, is said to be the leader of the attacking party. The kings of Shinar (Babylonia) and of El-lassar, probably Artemita (Dastagerda) to the north of Ktesiphon, as well as a king "of the Peoples" (Goijim) whom it is not easy to identify, are mentioned as his allies. But Khedorlaomer seems to have been the superior lord. Now there was at that time no other empire in Western Asia but the Babylonian, and here we meet with a remarkable circumstance. All the Babylonian and Assyrian dynastic arrowheaded inscriptions hitherto deciphered refer to South Babylonia, indeed to the country east of the Tigris, that is, Susiana, as being "the cradle of the sovereignty." There, too, are the ruins of vast cities, to which Rawlinson first called attention. Babylon, the historical city, is according to all authorities, of comparatively modern date, if indeed it was not founded by Nebuchadnezzar. Semiramis doubtless added to it; but how modern is the time of the Ninyads in the empires of Western Asia!

Their oldest sacred legend, mentioned by Berosus, accords also with this reference in the inscriptions;

namely, that the first dawn of civilisation was in Southern Babylonia, and that the teachers of mankind came from the shore of the Persian Gulf.

This horizon, however, will not suit any other date of Abraham but our own. Zoroaster had overthrown the Chaldean empire in the 23rd century (long before the rabbinical Abraham).

But there is still more cogent proof, both negative and positive, of the natural phenomenon connected with the history of Abraham, by which two, or more probably four, of the five cities in the valley of Siddim were overwhelmed. We must take care not to confound this event with the depression of the land and the sea which took place in primeval times, the consequence of which was the formation of a lake almost 1500 feet below the level of the Mediterranean. We are now dealing with an occurrence of comparatively modern date, an enlargement of the asphalte lake on the border of which these towns were situated.

The period when this event took place, in which earthquakes and volcanic action doubtless played an important part, was, according to the narrative, towards the end of the first quarter of a century of Abraham's immigration, consequently about the time of the birth of Isaac, in the year 2854.

It will be seen below that the genuine Phœnician story borrowed by Justin from Trogus Pompeius is deserving of some credit. We showed that its historical value consists in "the statement that the fathers of the Phœnicians were compelled by an earthquake in the region of the Assyrian lake" to migrate from thence to the coast of the Mediterranean. It is precisely from the neighbourhood of that lake that Abraham and Lot departed.

At all events, this Phœnician or Edomite migration must have taken place in the 29th century; that is, in the same century as the immigration of Abraham; for

the chronology of the shrine of Melkarth in the *island* of Tyre commences towards the year 2750, our knowledge of which we owe to the careful researches of Herodotus. According to the statement made to Alexander by the Phœnicians, there was a still older shrine in that country. At all events, a system so thoroughly Phœnician could not have been developed there in less than a century. When the settlers arrived, they probably established themselves in Southern Phœnicia. Akko, at least, which is to the south of Tyre, flourished at a very early date. Indeed, it is not a question of centuries as regards civilisation, for the Southern Canaanites, though immoral, were not a barbarous people.

Nothing, therefore, can harmonize better. We should have been obliged to fix the date of the occurrence which set these tribes in motion in the early part of the 29th century, even had not the time of Abraham driven us to the same conclusion.

But how stands the case with the rabbinical calculation? Abraham, who was a witness of that destructive phenomenon, lived in the beginning of the 23rd century, that is, in the latter part of the fifth century of the above era, which commenced in 2750, or a century after his birth.

We must, however, beware of dealing so loosely with the respect due to Scripture, and of placing it at variance with historical facts as well as human reason, in order to make it square with some favourite system of our own. It is no longer of any avail to tell men of sense that an attack is made upon the Bible; because the above chronological system is shown to be erroneous for the very purpose of proving that the Bible is a rational book, and the traditions it contains true, and therefore possible.

III. THE HYKSOS AND THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT.

FROM our present point of view, it is no more necessary to prove that the Hyksos reigned in Egypt during the long period we have assumed, than it is to show that they ever were there at all; and that it is not all an invention of Egyptologers from hatred of the Bible, as some wiseacres and boys in England have archly insinuated.

When in the year 1845 I first asserted that the rule of these North-Arabian and South-Palestinian races must have lasted nine centuries, I was simply carrying out a principle which had proved authentic so far, namely, that the entries in Africanus are, upon the whole, the only correct transcript of Manetho's dates. My assertion was corroborated by the number of the dynasties, not one of which could be omitted without disturbing the dates of all that came after. It was corroborated also by the numerous royal names which are found not only in the Turin Papyrus, but also in the most ancient official lists; and, lastly, by the contemporary monuments of the princes of Upper Egypt, who belonged to that period.

In the second volume of this work, published in 1854 (pp. 405—496.), when this subject was recast, I strengthened the philological evidence, and brought forward much new monumental matter. At pp. 451—455. I have summed up the principal points, with a view of showing that the 2017 years which De Rougé has assigned to this period are preferable to the 518 of Josephus, which are purely visionary, and which would brand the whole exposition of the honest Africanus as false throughout.

It is, therefore, equally impossible for me to accept the 662 years, namely:

15th and 16th Dynasties (260+251)	- 511
17th Dynasty - - -	- 151
	662

The 17th Dynasty was wholly Pharaonic. This has been established by De Rougé and Lepsius from the evidence of contemporary monuments, which leave no doubt as to the direct connexion between it and Amos, the chief of the 18th. The reading of one of the Sallier Papyri has put us in possession of a summons sent by Ra-Skennen Atnaken, the last prince of the 15th Dynasty (Vol. II. p. 494—496.), to the Hyksos king, Apophi, to evacuate Avaris, which has supplied us with Old-Egyptian evidence for this historical fact. Now, as we have not the slightest ground for supposing that the number 518, assigned by Africanus to the second Shepherd Dynasty, represents the sum total of the reigns of the 15th and 16th, and as there is no question about the right reading of Manetho's Lists of the 15th (260 years), we have the three following fixed points to furnish the length of the period between the fall of the last Pharaoh of the Old Empire and Amos:

15th	Dynasty - - -	260 years.
16th	„ - - -	518
17th	„ - - -	151
	Length of the whole period -	929 years.

Now, if we take this number into our computation, placing before it Manetho's date of the length of the Old Empire, which is best authenticated, and after it the date of the New Empire, we get the number 3555, the genuineness of which has never been questioned on sound grounds, and which has been verified in a variety of ways.

We have strengthened this evidence in the concluding

chapter of our researches into Egyptian synchronisms in the present Book, by a very remarkable coincidence with the tripartite division of the books of Manetho.

In restoring, therefore, the thread of Jewish chronology, which here breaks off altogether, the only historical conclusion to which we could arrive was this, that as the Israelites can only have gone into Egypt under a Pharaoh, and that one a Sesōstris (in which Lepsius agrees), so they did not go out of it under Sethōsis, the grandfather of Menephthah, the Pharaoh of the Exodus; but under the real historical Sesōstris of the Old Empire, a Sesortōsis. This assumption was not only brilliantly corroborated in 1854 by the discovery of the mention of a famine in the reign of the first Sesortōsis, but was also more accurately defined and brought within the range of chronological adjustment.

The two assumptions, therefore, with which we have to deal are independent of each other. One is — that Jacob went into Egypt in the reign of a Sesortōsis, and that Moses brought out the people in the reign of Menephthah; the other — that the duration of the sojourn in Egypt was 1434 years, namely,

from 2754 = the ninth year of Sesortosis I.
to 1320 = the eleventh year of Menephthah,

1434 years.

For the former of these hypotheses must have been maintained, even had the length of the Hyksos period proved shorter than we suppose.

But, in looking back on the second question from our present point of view, we must also throw into the scale all the further evidence which has been discovered of the essential correctness of the date assigned to Abraham. For this has been arrived at by calculating upwards from below, and the period to which it goes

depends itself very materially upon the length of the Hyksos period.

In the face of such evidence it seems to us hardly deserving a serious answer, if it should be argued that it is impossible to believe in such a period of almost 1500 years; that the people could not have retained so long the reminiscences of their fathers, their language, and other traditions. I would simply ask by what standard it is proposed to test it. This can only be decided by the genius of the race and by the circumstances of the case. Now the Jews as a race have ever been, throughout their whole history, peculiarly tenacious of reminiscences. They were precluded by the ordinances of Abraham from being affected by any overwhelming external influences, and they were, when they went into Egypt, in a transition state from a pastoral, to what was mainly, if not exclusively, an agricultural, life. Lastly, it is a period not devoid of epochs. The concluding one of 215 years, which we know was one of bondage, exhibits a people making a strong effort to rise from the very first, a people capable of great exertion, but keeping aloof from all the other Semitic races. In the earliest epoch we have again two centuries (2747-2540) when they quietly developed and extended their relations under the Sesortosidæ and down to the fall of the Old Empire. We have then the 929 years of the Hyksos rule, and the first 85 after the restoration, from Amos to Tuthmōsis III. and the final evacuation of Egypt by the Shepherds (1625—1540). These at least were not years of bondage and compulsory labour, with however little favour the rulers and their officials may have regarded the Asiatics. For, as already remarked, they had spread in the meantime, either from necessity or their natural love of barter, throughout the whole of Egypt, in the capacity of itinerant traders. During the Hyksos period their rulers were people of a kindred race, inferior to them in civi-

lisation, and to whom they doubtless made themselves very useful by their knowledge of the country and its resources.

All these circumstances therefore, down to the last period of 215 years, contributed on the one hand, through the rite of circumcision and the promise of a glorious future, to their isolation and independence; on the other, to furnish them with the means of keeping up their own reminiscences, and to guard them against despondency and the abandonment of the privileges of their race. These latter 215 years were certainly evil years, especially the last 70. So much the more naturally did they throw off any habits they might have contracted from the Shepherds, and the canal of the oppressor supplied fresh means of endurance. Before the scheme of exterminating them could be carried out, Moses appeared, and awakened the nobler feelings in the bosoms of the exasperated people. By secret arming and by union the Exodus was accomplished.

We do not, however, see why the Hyksos might not just as well have been 929 as 662 or 518 years in possession of Lower Egypt, and have held the rest of the country in a state of tribute.

We would say, on the contrary, that they must have stayed there the full nine centuries, for 1400 years are not too long for a single family to grow into a people of from two to two millions and a half. Add to which, it takes a very long time to account for a purely historical tradition being merged in pre-Abrahamitic reminiscences of an historical and mythological character, and to allow the possibility of a narrative which grew out of this medley being rounded off into a systematic shape. We must suppose it to have been completed in all its present essential features in the time of Moses, unless we resort to the utterly untenable notion of its being a pure invention. We know nothing of the state of the language at the time of the immigration, or of the language

of the Canaanites at that epoch. But we possess records of the Hebrew tongue since the days of Moses, which from its tenacious character, of which the Arabic furnishes another instance, renders it quite conceivable that the language spoken by the historical Hebrews in Palestine, for instance in David's time, did not differ much from the Phœnician or the old Canaanitish. Abraham probably adopted that idiom, if he did not bring it with him; and under these circumstances there is no difficulty in supposing that it possessed a very close affinity with the Phœnician.

We might, therefore, have confidently stated that no valid argument could be adduced against the length we have assigned to the Hyksos period, even did not the monuments and strictly historical accounts and traditions, as well as all the synchronisms, make any such consideration wholly superfluous.

F.

THE CONNEXION BETWEEN ABRAHAM AND THE REMINISCENCES OF HIS RACE, AND THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THOSE REMINISCENCES.

Abraham is the earliest Hebrew personage whose date can be fixed chronologically. There is no chronology, indeed, in the strict sense of the word; and the accounts of his forefathers and ancestry belong therefore, properly, to the domain of the Origines, or to the Fifth Book. But in order that any confidence may be placed in our historical and chronological view of the personal and family history of this Patriarch of three religions, it is absolutely necessary to prove that the name and accounts immediately preceding him are historical, and that the dates connected with them may be applied to determining

approximatively the epochs of migration, and their duration.

In the following Book we shall be able to understand the meaning of the reminiscences relative to Arphaxad (that is, the life of the race on the borders of Armenia, in Arrapakhitis); where the accounts of the Origines must be tested from the beginning downwards, and where the entries relative to Abraham appear as offsets from the traditions and researches respecting the Origines.

I. THE TRIPARTITE DIVISION OF THE SERIES FROM ARPHAXAD TO TERAH.

ARE there any extant authorities and means of testing Hebrew chronology prior to the migration of Abraham? This is a question which it is now impossible to pass over. There exists, as we shall see, a strict chronology of the Babylonian empire (in South Babylonia), dating back to the year 3784 B.C., consequently 908 years before the immigration of Abraham. Must not he and his forefathers, the sons of Arphaxad and Eber, have had some still earlier reminiscence? If we seriously believe that the genealogical form refers to individuals, exactly 215 years (290—75) elapsed between Arphaxad and the immigration of Abraham, a number with which we are already well acquainted, and the historical correction of which we have obtained in the length of the period immediately preceding Moses. How stands the case in reality?

From the immigration of Abraham and the institution by him of religious ordinances, the consciousness of moral personality, and, as a natural consequence, the consciousness of personal chronology, may be said to date. At the very commencement of the traditions from the primeval times down to the Flood, transmitted and stereotyped through Abraham, we find strictly astronomical dates, and adjusted, indeed, according to a cycle of 600 years, a system of computation treated of

under the head of the Babylonian Origines. These, as we see at once, go down to Noah and Shem (exclusively), to each of whom one such term is assigned. The only natural assumption, therefore, is, judging by the analogy of all other phenomena and the clear laws of development, that the interval between Arphaxad the son of Shem according to that tradition, and Terah, the father of Abraham, is neither astronomical nor personal. In other words, that the tradition proceeds by historical and geographical epochs.

And so we find it in reality. Here the series is completed, the first link of which was pointed out in the First Book.

We have no intention of forestalling by these incidental remarks, or by the accompanying synoptical table (pp. 364, 365.), what we shall have to say in the Book of the Origines about the whole period from Adam to Abraham.

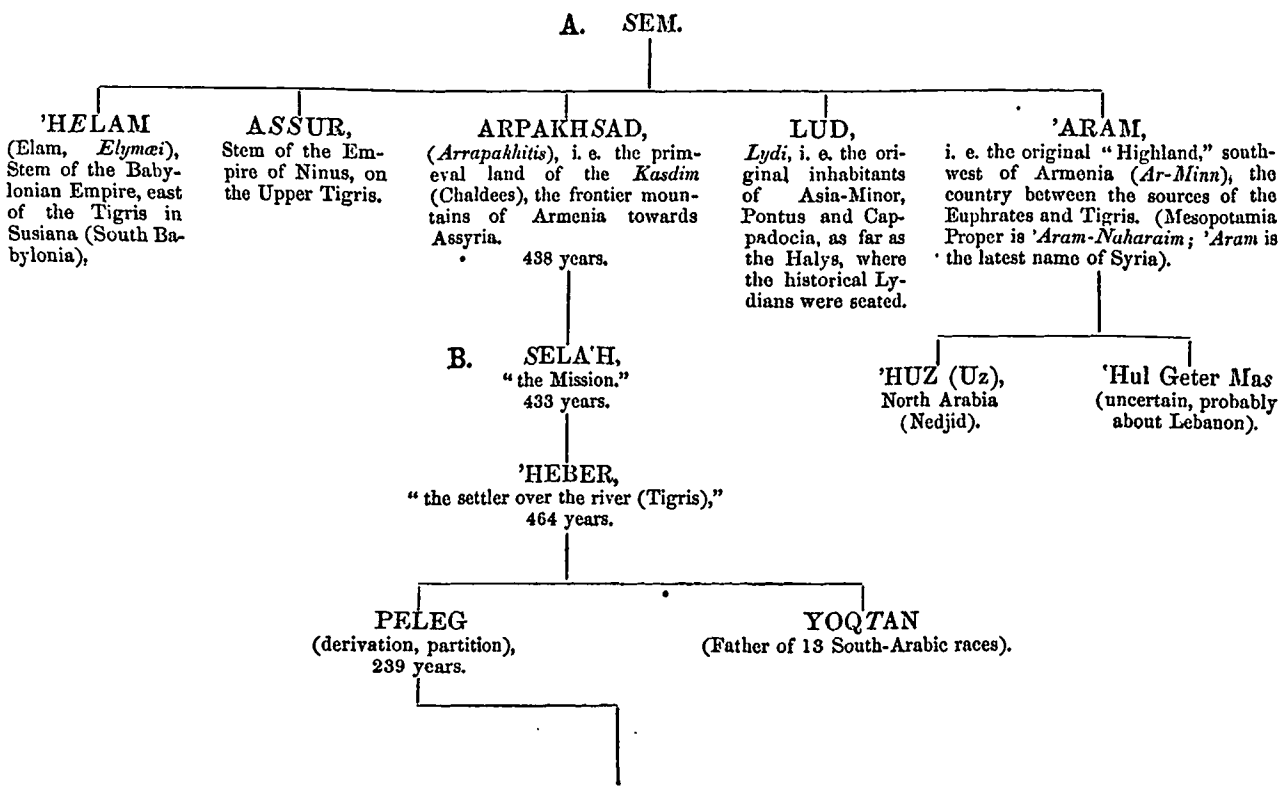
Our sole object is to exhibit the framework in which the elevated figure of Abraham is set, according to the conception of the primeval times and primeval world, and to indicate the background from which he emerges.

There is no other way of showing clearly from our present point of view, in how prominent a form this holy and faithful personage stands out in the earlier traditions, and with what truth it may be said that the more modern history of mankind commences with him.

The following table, when critically examined, divides itself into four parts. The first section passes from a general geographical notice to historical notices. Arphaxad is clearly the district of Arrapakhitis. Its position is particularly suitable as the starting-point of the settlements and reminiscences of the race of Abraham. It is one of the south-western slopes of the mountain range by which the primeval seat of the human race was surrounded, and on which the inhabitants of the northern plains took refuge in their flight. It was however, to that half of it to the westward of their

original residence that the Semitic races, as a body, resorted, and these settlers, who became so prominent a feature in history, successively advanced westward from Arphaxad, the starting-point of the Abrahamitic reminiscences. The settlements of Elam (the race subsequently located in Southern Mesopotamia, or Babylonia) were much more to the southward — originally to the east of the Tigris. This is presumable from the name of the Elymæans (Media in the south, Susiana in the north), that of the land of the Choaspes, with the more modern city of Susa. Here, according to the royal inscriptions of Babylonia and Nineveh, was the cradle of their dominion. Assur, the race mentioned next, settled originally on the Upper Tigris itself, but still to the east of that river (Kurdistan). The first district we meet with proceeding westward is Arrapakhitis, the frontier chain of Southern Armenia and North Assyria; not on the Tigris, however, but nearer to the sources of the Euphrates, which runs much farther eastward. The two races which come after Arphaxad are both to the west of it. Lud, the one first mentioned, is the most western of all. Lud is the representative of the Semitics who went into Asia Minor and settled there, but afterwards passed the Halys when they founded the Lydian empire. The Greeks were acquainted with the patriarchs of this race, under the names of Ninus and Bel (Assur and Elam). According to both those traditions, therefore, the first Lydian settlers came from the Semitic settlements in the east. The last-mentioned race is that of the Aramæans, or Highlanders, who first settled on the upper part of the Euphrates and Tigris district, and then passed through Mesopotamia Proper ("Aram of the two rivers"), the lowland (where is Mash=Mons Masius) which falls gradually towards Syria, afterwards called Aram. The name of Uz in Nedjid proves that its offsets extended as far as North Arabia.

Then come three entries (B), which are, beyond a


A. SEM.
'HELAM
(Elam, Elymæi), Stem of the Babylonian Empire, east of the Tigris in Susiana (South Babylonia),
ASSUR,
Stem of the Empire of Ninus, on the Upper Tigris.
ARPAKHSAD,
(Arrapakhitis), i. e. the primeval land of the Kasdim (Chaldees), the frontier mountains of Armenia towards Assyria.
438 years.
LUD,
Lydi, i. e. the original inhabitants of Asia-Minor, Pontus and Cappadocia, as far as the Halys, where the historical Lydians were seated.
'ARAM,
i. e. the original "Highland," southwest of Armenia (Ar-Minn), the country between the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. (Mesopotamia Proper is 'Aram-Naharaim; 'Aram is the latest name of Syria).
B. SELA'H,
"the Mission."
433 years.
'HUZ (Uz),
North Arabia (Nedjid).
'Hul Geter Mas
(uncertain, probably about Lebanon).
'HEBER,
"the settler over the river (Tigris),"
464 years.
PELEG
(derivation, partition),
239 years.
YOQTAN
(Father of 13 South-Arabic races).

C. Re'HU,

District of the Shepherd, country of Edessa (*Rohi*).
239 years.

SERUG

(in Osroëne, Sarug, west of Edessa).
230 years.

D. NA'HOR

Goes to Ur of the Kasdim (Chaldees).
148 years.

TERA'H

Leaves Ur of the Chaldees and goes to 'Haran (Karṛū)
a day's journey south of Edessa.
275 years (70 + 205).

doubt, not geographical but historical, the Mission, the Partition, the Passage. "The Mission" (*Sela'h*) represents the epoch of the first descent from the heights of the wild mountain country. "The Partition" is clearly the branching off of the race which passed into South Arabia (the Joktanidæ). "The Passage" ('Heber) must be the passage near the Upper Tigris in a south-western direction. These are followed once more by (C), geographical entries: Re'hu=Rohi, the old name of Edessa, and Serug=Sarug, the district lying somewhat to the west of it.

As the former entries can only allude to bodies of emigrants who passed through the above countries—for had they stayed there permanently they would have come into collision with, or have been merged in, the Aramæans —all the circumstances conspire to show that these latter represent stationary and permanent settlements. Here were the districts of the Skirtus and the Belus, once so flourishing (the two confluents of the greater Belekhus (Belekh) — where Orfa or Edessa and Karrä (Haran) were afterwards founded): further to the south-east was the ancient Osroëne, the identity of which with Serug (Sarug, Srug) Buttmann has so ingeniously pointed out. A little more to the south-east was the primeval city of Resen, mentioned in Genesis (x. 12.) as having been built by Nimrod, the Rezaïna of Ptolemy, on the Chaboras. In the same latitude, but nearer to the Tigris, is the district where Nisibis was situated, not far from which was Ur of the Chaldees. This is another instance of the genius of D'Anville, who marked on his map almost every one of these places on the spot where they were found by Niebuhr, and latterly by General Chesney and Captain Lynch, after so many years of neglect, to the shame of Europe be it spoken, and as Ritter had fixed them upon scientific grounds.

When we come to Serug it is as manifest that these colonists are no longer mentioned as pastoral races, as it

is that the adjacent Skirtus district (Edessa) is introduced.

All at once we find ourselves in Ur of the Chaldees, that is to say, between the eastern confluents of the Chaboras and Tigris; the difference, however, being that Ur does not serve as a guide or finger-post to us, as Edessa and Sarug did in the other case. The next two names again (Na'hor and Terah) are not geographical any more than Abraham is. A vast deal of ingenuity has been wasted upon their etymology, simply because it was not employed in the right direction. We should have naturally expected to find names of individuals mentioned immediately before the personal chronology of Abraham, and we hope to be able to prove that Terah and Na'hor were really the names of his father and grandfather.

II. THE HISTORICO-CHRONOLOGICAL MEANING OF THE DATES IN THIS SERIES.

WE will now take a glance at the dates. Here the first step undoubtedly must be to abandon the views and system adopted by the narrator, from the impossibility of an historian dealing with men who beget children like other people at the age of thirty, and live more than 400 years afterwards. Those upon whom this consideration fails to make an impression may still be staggered by the fact, that, upon this calculation, the patriarch Noah lived down to the time of Abraham, without troubling himself about the history of the world. But we shall be equally bound to discard the complacent and irreverent solution that these high numbers are mere arbitrary inventions. Neither can we venture, like the authors of the Septuagint, to falsify the text, and, in order to get rid of the disproportion, add on every occasion a hundred years to the ages of these geographical patriarchal monsters at the time of their marriages.

We have, therefore, but one alternative; to ascertain which of the two is the really traditional date, that of the ages after the birth of the first son, or the whole date: to ascertain, in other words, whether the narrator had the authority of tradition for the former date, and, in order to assist his chronology, added at random thirty or forty years to their ages when the first son was born; or whether he found the whole sum total recorded, and deducted from it whatever suited his purpose. The fact of his not stating the sum total would incline us to adopt the former view; but, in the immediately preceding entries about Noah and Shem, we can prove that the complete sum total is the actually traditional date. In each case it is 600 years, which was shown to be the original Chaldaic equation between lunar and solar years. We must, therefore, assume that it is so here also.

There is a remarkable closeness between the first three (geographico-historical) dates, Arphaxad, Sela'h and Eber:

Arphaxad	-	-	-	-	438 years.
Sela'h	-	-	-	-	435
'Heber	-	-	-	-	464

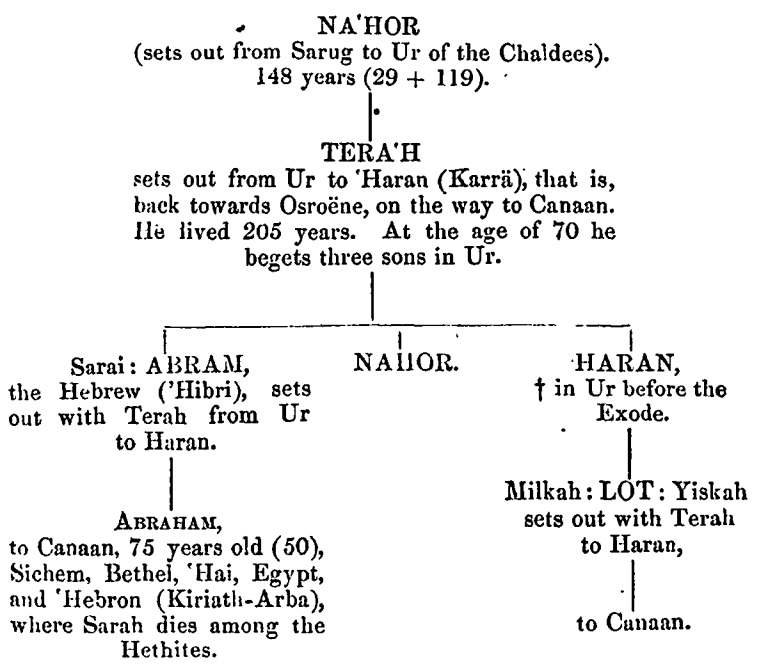
Supposing Arphaxad to represent the duration of the Semitic settlement in Arrapakhitis, the mountain district above Assyria, prior to the memory of man, "the Mission" would represent the commencement of the journey towards the plains three years before the close of this migration, and 'Heber would represent the period when the migrating race passed over the Upper Tigris on their way to the valleys of Upper Mesopotamia. The year 464 would in that case be the one in which they entered Mesopotamia Proper, and the tribe must have remained in a compact body 239 years before a portion of them commenced the great migration southward, the result of which was the foundation of the primeval

kingdoms of Southern Arabia, the kingdoms of the Adites in Yemen, who believe that they came from the sacred north, and once lived in a glorious garden of the earth which they are to restore. The first part of the above table would consequently give us 464 + 239 = 703 years. The settlement of that portion of the tribe which remained behind we must consider as being between the Tigris and Chaboras, that is, again in the country about Nisibis, the Ur, which was called in later times Ur of the Chaldees, or Kurds.

Now, inasmuch as the entry relative to the first member of the fixed period of colonisation is again exactly 239 years, we may fairly assume that this term, and the one mentioned as a division of it, are merely two different versions of one and the same chronological period. When the great Arab migration took place, (which may perhaps not have been voluntary, but a consequence of the pressure of the Aramaic race, or of the Turanians,) a portion of those who stayed behind in Mesopotamia may have settled in the beautiful western valley of the Skirtus about Edessa. But the advance upon Sarug more to the west and south we must suppose to represent a new period, and one therefore of 230 years.

This would make in all 933 years down to Nahor, the grandfather of Abraham.

Before we submit the dates in the latter portion to closer examination, we propose to lay before our readers in a synoptical form the whole genealogical table, including Abraham and his nephew Lot.


NA'HOR
(sets out from Sarug to Ur of the Chaldees).
148 years (29 + 119).
TERA'H
sets out from Ur to 'Haran (Karrä), that is, back towards Osroëne, on the way to Canaan. He lived 205 years. At the age of 70 he begets three sons in Ur.
Sarai: ABRAM, the Hebrew ('Hibri), sets out with Terah from Ur to Haran.
NAHOR.
HARAN, † in Ur before the Exode.
ABRAHAM, to Canaan, 75 years old (50), Sichem, Bethel, 'Hai, Egypt, and 'Hebron (Kiriath-Arba), where Sarah dies among the Hethites.
Milkah: LOT: Yiskah sets out with Terah to Haran,
to Canaan.

There are here four points which cannot be historical. Terah has a son in Ur, who dies there before the tribe goes to Haran. This son is named Haran. His son, Lot, accompanies Terah to Haran, as he afterwards accompanies Abraham to South Canaan. We need not be astonished that Nahor, which is a purely personal name, should be also given to the grandson. But there is some difficulty in understanding how it can be an historical fact, that the name of a district, to which the father goes subsequently, was given to the son, who never went to Haran at all. We are here passing from a geographical statement about settlements, to personal history, and the obvious inference is, that the name of the son must originally have been an intimation that the house of Terah, in South-Western Mesopotamia, came from Ur of the Chaldees. It is, however, a wholly unimportant point, both chronologically and historically. The only thing is, to prevent the clear stream of the history from

being polluted and rendered liable to suspicion by a jumble of this description.

The case is the same as regards the dates. The 148 years of Nahor, and the 205 of his son, cannot be historical; but why may they not be years of a chronological series?

In the first place, from what has just been remarked, the 148 years of Nahor must be held to typify the 148th year of the settlement on the Skirtus, which is said to have been 230 years, and which therefore lasted 82 years longer; for the Abrahamitic or Hebrew chronology does not proceed through the former from Serug, but through Nahor from Ur in Chaldæa.

The date of the year 70, first connected with Terah, is doubtless traditional. It forms a marked contrast with the previous entries of age at the birth of the eldest son, which vary from 29 to 35 years. Neither can it be the archetype of the 75 years of Abraham, when he begat Isaac, for that was an event quite out of the ordinary course of nature which has reference to the age of 75, and not to the 100 years afterwards mentioned.

The year 70 must therefore be the 70th year of the chronology of Ur, which must have commenced with Nahor.

We may fairly assume that Nahor did not seek for a new home until he had a son grown up. We shall therefore fix the immigration at the time when that son entered into manhood. It is expressly stated that the sons of Terah were established in Ur, but no such statement is made as to Terah himself. He lived there until his immigration into Haran on his way back to Canaan.

Nahor begets Terah in Serug: birth of Terah	1
Nahor sets out for Ur, with Terah, then 13 years old - - - - -	13
Terah begets Abram at about the age of 25: birth of Abram - - - -	26

Terah begets a second son (Haran) (Abram 5) 30
(Haran begets Lot) at about the age of 25. (Abram 30) - - - - 55
Terah sets out from Ur to Haran with Abram his son (and his wife Sarai), and with Lot his grandson, in the year 70 (Abram 45), or somewhat earlier.
Terah dies (Abram 45) - - - 70
(Abram migrates to Canaan, 5 years afterwards, at the age of 50.)

Admitting these three persons as well as the original tradition about them to be historical, no one will dispute that this is the natural arrangement. If there be any error in it, it can only be to a very trifling extent. It gives us the very year 70 as being the traditional date connected with Terah, that is, the year of his death. We are told that his intention was to go from Ur to Canaan, but that he only got as far as Haran. He was overtaken by death before he expected it. Our restoration, however, shows it to be highly probable that he died immediately upon his arrival in Haran, at all events a very few years after.

But this same method of adjustment supplies us with a simple, as well as very striking, explanation of the year 205.

If the year in which Terah the patriarch of the house of Abraham went with his father to Ur was the thirteenth of the chronology of Terah, and if in the chronology of Serug the emigration of Nahor represents the year .. -	148,
the year 70 of the chronology of Terah	70
is the year -	218.
Consequently the year of the immigration of Terah - - - -	13
makes exactly -	205 years.

III. THE STARTING-POINTS OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL REMINISCENCES OF ABRAHAM COMPARED WITH THE COMMENCEMENTS OF THE BABYLONIAN AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY. — CONCLUSION.

THE Pre-Abramitic chronology therefore gives

from Arphaxad to the birth of Nahor -	933 years,
from the birth of Nahor to the death of Terah - - - - -	70
from the death of Terah (the 45th year of Abram) to the emigration - -	5
	1008 years.

Now as the first year of the immigration (the 51st of Abraham) coincides with the year - B. C. 2877,
the commencement of the history of the race of Abraham can hardly be placed higher than - - - - 1008,

3885, or in round numbers about B. C. 4000.

The chronology of Menes begins - B. C. 3623,
the chronology of the first Babylonish Dynasty earlier by - - - 161 years,

consequently - B. C. 3784 years.

These two epochs, therefore, are both posterior; but they represent at this early stage the commencement of a vast empire, which, as can be conclusively shown in the case of Egypt, it required, not centuries, but thousand of years to build up.

Now, if, in thus placing these dates in juxtaposition, we are bound to bear in mind that the whole calculation of the sojourn of Abraham's forefathers and their history in Mesopotamia is not based upon any strictly chronological authority, like the two eras above mentioned; still less are we authorised in considering these

narratives and dates as mythical, that is to say, pure inventions. They bear throughout the stamp of being real, not ideal, and are marked by a total absence of systematic adjustment, which betrays the origin of all mythical dates. With the exception of the father and nephew we have no real personages, but we recognise the meaning and value of the names and dates, when once we comprehend that it is not the object of tradition to do more than record the epochs of the progressive onward movement of these people to the southward and westward. Historical reminiscences necessarily form the basis of these epochs, which must be considered true where the unit is a generation, and there is no object in making any nearer definition.

The tradition then respecting the antecedents of Abraham in Mesopotamia forms a suitable background for a strictly historical personality, and for the commencement of a real chronological series arising out of it.

In the second place, the date which we have thus obtained, both for Abraham himself as well as the earliest reminiscences of his ancestors in Mesopotamia, fits remarkably well into our framework of the most ancient people-history, according to the authentic data in respect to Egypt and Babylon.

Thirdly, these reminiscences of the race from which issued Abram, the son of Terah, the man of Ur of the Chaldees, are of vast importance to general history. They form the primitive history of the noblest and most intellectual of the races who withdrew from the Asiatic despotism which was springing up in the south, as they had done at an earlier period from their original home, owing to a voluntary forward impulse, or from being driven to it by some extraneous cause.

Insignificant as the race then was, it contained within it 3500 years ago the hope of Asia, just as 200 years ago the Pilgrim Fathers were the hope of Europe,

and bore with them the most prolific germ for the future of mankind.

We have therefore discovered the existence of chronological systems in perfect harmony with each other, the construction of which can only spring from a consciousness of the regular development of the germs of a national life bearing the promise of a great future. Such an age of already civilised peoples and races must naturally have been preceded by a series of historical developments, and of historical if not actually chronological reminiscences; a series which is now computed by epochs, but at an earlier stage only by strata of language, and by epochs of mythological consciousness.

This is the domain of the Origines, and the first topic to be treated of in the Fifth Book, to which portion of our work a further discussion of it must be reserved.

PART IV.

THE

HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE CHINESE.

A.

INTRODUCTION.— POINT OF VIEW, AND METHOD OF TREATMENT.

It has been more than once remarked in the course of this work that the connexion between the Chinese and the Egyptians belongs, in several of its phases, to the general history of the world. The Chinese language is the farthest point beyond that of the formation of the Egyptian language, which represents, as compared with it, the middle ages of mankind, the Turanian and Chamitic stages of development. The Chinese, who migrated before the deluge, have no reminiscences any more than the Egyptians, of the great catastrophe which we know by the name of the Flood of Noah. Their chronology is very intimately connected also in several respects with the solution of the problem now before us. An explanation must be given of the reason why it commences at a later period than Egyptian chronology, much later, indeed, than is generally supposed. Search must be made in other quarters than the extant regular chronology, for proofs of that vast antiquity which the numerous records of language compel us to assign to the Origines of the Chinese.

The merit of the researches hitherto made in this direction belongs almost exclusively to the French, from the Jesuits in the early part of the 18th century down to Silvestre de Sacy, the critical editor of the researches of Father Gaubil in 1814. Gaubil's first astronomical investigations were published under the name of Souciet, a few years before those of Fréret, which formed an epoch in science, appeared in the Transactions of the Academy of Paris, in the year 1736, though written in 1733.

All the great French astronomers, among others Laplace and Pingrè, have directed their attention to this subject. The Germans have contributed to it nothing but the treatise of Ideler, which, like every thing written by him, contains valuable and profound research, but it is certainly less successful than his previous works.

In the following pages I shall take the above as my text-book, but shall only discuss such points as have an immediate bearing on the present inquiry. In order to make the subject more intelligible to such of my readers as have not pursued these studies, I shall give a compendium of the principal epochs in Chinese history, according to the views which, in so far as necessary, are fully established by the following researches.

First Epoch. The Period before Yao.

Confucius, from a proper feeling that this period was unchronological, did not mention it in his commentary. The reigns which have been assigned to it — by the older chronologers, four of 332 years, or three of 241, according to the valuable canon of the Bambus-book, and by more modern chronologers, sometimes thirteen with 966 years, sometimes twenty-eight with 2526 — are mere incoherent fragments of traditions or fictions of an earlier date.

Second Epoch. Yao and Shin.

The reigns of these two princes of Shen-si are usually computed at 150 years; but the canon of the Bambus Book assigns to them 156. According to the mythical version of the Shuking, these rulers are not only placed in personal connexion with each other, but also with the founder of the first imperial dynasty Ta-Yu, that is, the great and good Yu. In order to make this in some degree possible, others, Pan-ku for instance,

have reduced the period to 120 years. But as a first step to a restoration of a rational view of Chinese chronology, we must admit that there is a gap here which has been patched up and artificially united. Imperial history and imperial chronology commence with Yu. Yao and Shin belong to the special history of the original seat of the race, the northern district Shen-si. There is no certain chronological connexion between them.

Third Epoch. The Imperial Dynasties.

The following are the dates of the canon in the Bambus-book:

	Years.	Beginning B.C.
I. Dynasty Hia. First Emperor, Yu: Duration - -	432	1991
II. Dynasty Shang. First Emperor . . . twenty-eight reigns in fifteen generations. Duration	509	1559
III. Dynasty Tsheû. Length of the first eleven reigns -	269	1050
Twelfth King Yeû-Yang: his sixth year is the identical day and year of the eclipse of the sun of 776 B.C., as recorded in the Shi-king.		
Consequently the first year of Yeû-Yang is 781		
Confucius lived under this dynasty, and he recorded the observations of the solar eclipses from 481 B.C. upwards to 720 (551—479).		
IV. Dynasty Tsin. Length, 255—207 - - -	49	255
V. Dynasty Han. Length from 206 B.C. to 264 A.D. -	469	206 to A.D. 264

B.

THE ORIGINES AND PRIMITIVE HISTORY DOWN TO THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST IMPERIAL DYNASTY.[152]

According to Lit-se, one of their most distinguished writers, the universe sprang from the union of the male primeval power, Yang, and the female, Yin. Originally the male principle alone existed. The existence of æther marks the great beginning. An organized All formed itself out of chaos, the finer parts mounting up (heaven), the lower remaining below (earth).

Pu-An-ku, the primeval man, came out of the mundane egg; he lived 18,000 years.

Then came the reigns of heaven — the reigns of earth — the reigns of men, during myriads of years. Sui-shin, one of these old rulers, discovered fire, took observations of the stars, and investigated the five elements.

These were succeeded by the Five Rulers, who are mythical representatives of historical epochs in the primitive history prior to Yao, as recorded in the annals of Shen-si, the original district of the race.

I. Fohi, the Great, Brilliant (Tai-hao): cultivation of astronomy and religion, as well as writing. He reigned 110 years. Then came 15 reigns.

II. Shin-nong (divine husbandman). Institution

[152] For the details I refer my readers, in addition to the Shuking and the French writers, to Guzlaff's "History of the Chinese Empire down to the Peace of Nanking," edited by Professor R. F. Newman. It is a classical authority for the modern and most modern history. In the earlier portion there is all the simplicity of Herodotus, but its great blot is the repudiation of Confucius.

of agriculture. The knowledge of simples applied as the art of medicine.

III. HOANG-TI (great ruler) came to the throne in consequence of an armed insurrection (new dynasty), and was obliged to put down a revolt. In his reign the magnetic needle was discovered; the smelting of copper for making weapons, vases of high art, and money; improvement in the written character, said to be borrowed from the lines on the tortoise-shell. It consisted of 500 hieroglyphics, of which about 200 can still be pointed out. He established fixed habitations throughout his dominions, and the astronomical *cycle of* 60 *years*, in the 61st year of his reign. Musical instruments. It was in his time also that the fabulous bird Sin appeared. The empire was considerably extended to the southward.

The next two emperors seem to have been his descendants. Under the former of them, SHAO-HAO, the heresy of god- and demon-worship is said to have sprung up,; but this can only be true as regards the corruption of the primitive worship of the dead, that is, the worship of the Shin, the spirits of the departed. For this, the only vital element in their religion at the present day, is a primitive dogma, associated with the worship of the heaven and earth. In the reign of the latter of the two, TSHUEN-HIÜ, the conjunction "of the five planets" is recorded.

These were followed by an elective emperor of another race, KAO-SIN, or the Black Ti-ko. He had a great love and knowledge of music, and lived an effeminate life. His posthumous son was appointed by Yao governor of the province of his maternal ancestors. The old ballad-book, Shi-king (iv. 3. 3.), speaks of the mother, as being the ancestress of the second Imperial dynasty, Shang.

The eldest of the sons of Kao-sin was dethroned on account of his excesses, and YAO elected in his stead.

Yao and Shin-nong form the junction between the old history of the aboriginal country and imperial history. In his time the celestial globe was made on which the constellations are represented. The computation of years had fallen into confusion.

Shin, the son of poor parents, a man of enormous stature, was chosen by Yao as his son-in-law and successor. The Shuking contains some ancient maxims of them both, which are difficult to understand. Yŭ, the great son of Kuen, a governor and director of the water-works, succeeded Shin: they reigned a considerable time conjointly. According to tradition we then come to the first Imperial dynasty. The question now to be considered is, whether we can find an astronomical check for this period, the close of which is obviously historical, although the tradition is wanting in strictly historical coherence.

C.

THE DATE AND REALITY OF THE CYCLE OF SIXTY YEARS.

Fréret, in his clever and learned treatise, has, I think, advanced the most irrefragable proofs that the astronomical cycle of 60 years, which the Chinese first made use of, as we have seen, in the 61st year of Hoang-ti, and the 76th recurrence of which they will celebrate in 1864, is a primitive institution, and the key to their whole astronomical system. I think that not only our Chaldean researches, but also the Egyptian, authorise us in deciding that the Chinese system is the most ancient form of a primitive and very simple equation of lunar and solar years.

The Triakontaeteridæ of the Egyptians, or the great festivals of the period of 30 years, lead to the cycle of 60 years; for, as already remarked (p. 64.), there is no other way of explaining them but by reference to that cycle. The half period was celebrated in order to give each king the possibility of taking part in it. Plutarch, in his work on Isis and Osiris (chap. 75.), unquestionably alludes to this cycle, when he says that the 60 eggs, and the 60 years that the crocodiles lived, were admitted by persons skilled in astronomy to be symbolical, to be the first measure or lowest unit of the equation of years. At the end of every 60 years there was exactly a difference of half a month between the fixed solar and the vague civil years.

The Indian cycles appear to have commenced with the rude equation of 5 years, but doubtless they made use of one consisting of twelve times that number, or 60 years, as a corrective formula. There is, on the other hand, no proof of their being acquainted with the Chaldee cycle of 600 years, which evidently was of a later date, when they had made an advance in science.

As regards the Chinese, it is fully established in the first place (Ideler, 214.) that they possessed a lunar year, which they regulated by the solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It is further established that they possessed a sexagesimal cycle for days, months (of 5 years, $5 \times 12 = 60$), and years.[153] The cycle for days implies a year of $6 \times 60 = 360$ days, as well as a fixed lunar year. The Metonic cycle of 19 years = 235 synodic months (19×12 [228] + 7 intercalary months) only occurs after the time of Han. Still they must have possessed, pre-

[153] Martini (Historia Sinica, p. 14. ed. Monac.) asserts that the Egyptians computed by the era of 60 years of Hoangho. See De Vignolles, Miscellanea Berolinensia, t. iv. 37., on the Cycle of Months. Comp. Ideler, App. ix. The monthly cycle now commences with the third month, then goes to the 15th, &c. Before the time of Han what is now the first month was the third.

viously to that time, a cycle for the same purpose of equation, and everything tends to the conclusion that it was one of 60 years (60 years = 60 × 12[720] + 22 = 742 months).

1. The cycle of 60 days can be explained by it.

2. The cycle of 60 years must have been so arranged that after a certain time the annual cycle was again coincident with the first daily cycle. It is true that there seems to be no direct mention of it in the Shu-king, and the notation of the annals by means of it, from the time of Yao downwards, might afterwards have been introduced by calculation. Still it is universally admitted that this system is well adapted to the old chronology.

3. Ideler himself admits (158.) that one circumstance can be explained by it, which is unintelligible on any other, namely, that the year as arranged by Yü gradually got into such disorder, that, instead of beginning at the sign of the Waterman, it receded into the middle of the sign of the Archer (137.).

4. Fréret supposes that it must have been computed as follows: 60 tropical years = 742 months − 2 days and 20 hours. Consequently in 600 years = 7420 months − 28⅓ days = 1 small lunar month of 29 days, with far less error than the Julian intercalary period, which is 1 day in excess every 125 years.

Now the following divisions of time were in use among the Chaldees (Ideler, 78. seq.):

1. The 12-yearly year according to Censorinus, annus Chaldæus, as the cycle for the fertility of the years.

Scaliger made the remark that the 12-yearly zodiacal cycle, which is in use among the Tatars (Mongols, Mandshus, Igurians), the inhabitants of Thibet, the Japanese, and Siamese, dated from the earliest times. Among the Tataric populations, however, this is a cycle of 60 years (12 × 5). Of the Indians we have already spoken.

2. The cycles of 60 years — 600 years — 3600 years.
SOSSOS. SAROS. NEROS.

Now when we find that 600 *years give an excess of exactly one lunar month*, with far greater accuracy than the Julian year, such a cycle must have been indispensable when that of 60 years was in use, and consequently must have been employed by the Chinese, or at all events have been known to those from whom they borrowed the latter.

Josephus also calls 600 years the great year, which may have been observed by the patriarchs.

The cycle of $6 \times 600 = 3600$ does not belong to this simple system of equation of the solar years of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and the lunations. Wherever the lunar year is the one in general use, it is only necessary to intercalate months, not years as was the case with the Egyptians.

The cosmic year of the Chinese of 129,600 years, mentioned by Tshu-hi after Shao-kang-tsi (Neumann, p. 59.), also implies the periods of 60 and 600 years.

For $129{,}600 \text{ years} = 216 \times 600$
$= 2160 \times 60$ ($2160 = 6 \times 360$, a multiple which cannot be accidental).

It further results from all this, as Ideler has admitted without remark, that, in spite of the objections made to it by himself and Letronne some years ago, the year of 360 days has in reality great astronomical significancy, inasmuch as $360 = 12 \times 30$. The three decades into which the Chinese month is divided also imply a reference to 30, the number of days in a month, as being the standard for the year. In the "little" month the decade consists of only nine days.

The scientific problem thus offered for our solution is the following. It is admitted that the Chinese, from the earliest times, made use of a sexagesimal cycle for the division of the year $= 6 \times 60$ days, and they marked the years by a cycle of 60 years running concurrently with the cycle of days.

This cycle, therefore, must have been originally instituted at a time when the first day of the daily cycle coincided with the first year of the annual cycle, i. e. when they commenced on the same day.

Ideler (273.) thinks it impossible to ascertain this, owing to the irregularity of the old calendar. But it does not seem to be irregular in this particular point, and it would, at all events, be worth while to examine to what period such a calculation would bring us. It would then be requisite to collate the result with the astronomical observation and the chronological data of the annals, previously to which many preliminary researches must be made.

As regards astronomical observations, Laplace (Exposition, p. 400.: see Ideler, § 338.) found that the notice about the size of the sun's shadow, from the observation of the Viceroy Tsheû-kung about 1100 B.C., was singularly correct. This prince, the brother of Wu-wang the founder of the Tsheû dynasty, measured the shadow at the solstice.

The date of the most ancient astronomical entry in the Shuking (chap. Y hiün) is the first year of Tai-kia, the second ruler of the Shang. (Gaubil, Lettres édifiantes, p. 322., id. 272.) But the most important one is in the first chapter of that record. The signs of the four cardinal points of the year are there noted in the time of Yao. Ideler (iv. 297. seq.) found that they are exactly correct for a period of about 4000 years before 1837, i.e. about 2163 B.C., and we shall see that according to the most trustworthy authorities that is the exact date of his reign; although, according to the chronology of the Celestial Empire now in vogue, which has been framed on no critical basis whatever, it is placed in the year 2300.

The question therefore arises, whether these earlier observations cannot be applied for fixing the chronology. But here we must be specially careful not to con-

found retrospective calculations with actual contemporary annalistic notices. The rules of criticism are very simple. It is easy to calculate backwards eclipses of the sun (correctly or incorrectly) as the Romans and Egyptians have done. But appearances of rare occurrence, and which are difficult to calculate, such as many of the planetary conjunctions, must either be pure inventions or contemporary notations of some extraordinary natural phenomena.

One instance that may be cited is the traditional observation[154] of a conjunction of five planets (among which the sun and moon are mentioned) on the first day of Litshin in the time of Tshuen-hiü, the second successor of Hoang-ti.[155]

Suppose this should have been the great conjunction of the three upper planets, which recurs every 794 years and 4 months, and to which Kepler first turned his attention in reference to the year of the nativity of Christ.

It took place in the following years:

The one which occurred in historical and Christian times was in November, 7 years B.C. Consequently the conjunctions prior to it occurred in

	Y.	M.	D.
	794	4	12
	7	10	12
	786	6	0
	794	4	12
	1580	10	12
	794	4	12
and the conjunction in the time of Tshuen-hiü in	2375	2	24

According to the official Chinese tables, as given by

154 Ideler, p. 128. seq.

155 Gaubil, Traité, p. 269. Comp. Cassini and Kircher.

Ideler, he reigned from 2513 to 2436; but the dates vary to the extent of more than 200 years; and the year 2375 comes within the limits of these deviations.

D.

THE PRINCIPAL POINTS RESPECTING THE EARLIEST DIVISIONS OF THE YEAR AMONG THE CHINESE.

1. In the second dynasty the DAY commenced at midday.[156] Wu-wang, the founder of the third dynasty, fixed it at midnight.[157]

2. The WEEK of seven days (Zi=7) was only used for astrological purposes; its antiquity is proved by the 28 lunar stations. We know that it depended originally upon the four lunar phases, but it was connected in China as elsewhere with a certain *succession of the planets*. Ideler states that, according to Gaubil, the characters of one of the seven planets (from the sun to Saturn) were, in early times, annexed to the characters of the station. He professed to have discovered that the use of this was first authentically recorded on the monument of Sigan-fu, erected A.D. 781, but Gaubil says that Confucius mentions the Zi-week as being in use in the time of Tsheû (the third dynasty).

3. The Chinese began to reckon their SOLAR YEAR of 365¼ days from the day of the winter solstice, which they fixed by observation of the longest shadow on the ground at midday.[158]

4. The CIVIL YEAR commenced at the lunar month in which the sun enters Pisces. This consequently is

156 Gaubil, Lettres édifiantes, p. 330. 157 Ib. Traité, p. 34.
158 Ib. Observations, ii. 138.

determined by the conjunction in the Waterman (the previous full moon). (The beginning of the first moon is the new moon in the Waterman, consequently the vernal equinox is the full moon of the *second moon*, the autumnal equinox the full moon of the *eighth*. The solstice coincides with the full moon of the fifth and tenth months.)

The Chinese have four SEASONS, of three months each (first, second, and third moon of the season). They are divided into six sections (zi tshi), of 15 to 16 days. Hence they divide the ecliptic into 24 equal zones, each containing half a sign.

1.	Zi tshi.	Winter solstice, 21. Dec. = Capricorn, beginning.
4.	„	Beginning of Spring, 5. Feb. = middle of Capricorn = 45 days before the equinox: Sidsuen = the first new moon of the year.
		Pisces intervenes.
7	„	Vernal equinox, March 22. = Ram, beginning.
10	„	Beginning of Summer, May 5. = middle of the Ox.
13	„	Summer solstice, June 22. = the Crab, beginning.
16	„	Beginning of Autumn, Aug. 5. = middle of the Lion.
19	„	Autumnal equinox, Sept. 22. Balance, beginning.
22	„	Beginning of Winter, Nov. 5. = middle of the Archer.[159]

Their civil year, then, begins in the month nearest to the middle of the Waterman. It is said to have been instituted by Tshuen-hiü (2513–2436, see above), that

[159] Ideler, 335.

is, by one of the kings anterior to Ta-Yü, the emperor of the first dynasty.[160]

The Great Yü farther ordained that the *first* month of spring, that is, the month in which the sun entered into Pisces[161], should be the first of the year, consequently 45 days before the equinox, equal to Feb. 5. It is stated in the annals that during the second dynasty, Shang (1766—1154) [1740–1122], the beginning of the civil year was brought forward *one month*, that is, to about the 7th of January, consequently the year began when the sun entered the sign of the Waterman.

In the third dynasty, Tsheû (1122–314), it was again brought forward *a month*, and therefore it began in the month in which the sun entered Capricorn, or about the 7th of December. All this is based upon old traditions and notices of solar eclipses which have been preserved in the commentary of Zo-Tshuen upon Confucius' Annals of the Collateral Dynasty. This commentary was written in the year 500.[162] In the reign of the Tsin, which only lasted 48 years, the beginning of the year was pushed back one sign. (Ideler, N.). But it would seem, nevertheless, that the system of Yü was always adhered to, namely, that the month with which the year commenced, should be called the *vernal month.*

In the time of the Tsheü therefore, the *beginning of spring* in the civil calendar fell in the middle of the sign of the Archer, or about the 7th of November.

In the time of the Tshin (255—207 B.C.) a further retrogression of one month is said to have taken place.

All this is explainable by the cycle of 60 years, in which every 600 years there was an error of a month. According to the ordinary assumptions the calculation certainly does not hold good.

160 Gaubil, Observations, i. 182.; Traité, 261.

161 Gaubil, Traité, 21.

162 Ib. 232. 238. 243.

Taking the year 2200 as the beginning of the first dynasty, Hiü,

1 month was lost in the year 1600 (the 166th year of the Shang.)
2 months were lost „ 1000 (the 38th year of the Tsheû.)
3 „ were lost „ 400 (it took place under the Tshin (255—207), it must therefore have occurred after 256 and before 206 (the same year in which the Han succeed.)

It is, however, obvious from a variety of considerations, that the supposed beginning of the Great Yü cannot be sustained. We would merely remark here, that, according to Cassini, the great solar eclipse mentioned in the annals during the reign of Shin (the predecessor of Ta-Yü) occurred on the 25th of October, 2007, which, according to the genuine tradition, was the 16th year before the accession of Yü. This assumption (1991=the first year of the first dynasty), calling it in round numbers 2000 B.C., would make these periods to have commenced in the years

$$2000 — 1400 — 800 — 200:$$

which is very nearly the first year of the Tsin. Now, as this dynasty reigned but a short time (48 years), the coincidence may be considered as complete.

A permanent improvement was made in the calendar during the reign of this dynasty.

E.

RESULTS TOWARDS AN APPROXIMATE RESTORATION OF THE CHRONOLOGY PRIOR TO YÜ.

From the remarks made at the commencement of this discussion respecting the ordinary Chinese chronologies, in which there is a discrepancy of two centuries and a half, and of which the official one is the worst, it is clear, not only that the current views upon this subject are untenable, but also that it is possible to make an approximative restoration.

The story in the Shuking is altogether valueless, in so far as regards the personal connexion between Yao and Yü. Yü is made to save the country from the great inundation in the time of Yao when he was viceroy, by erecting enormous dams and cutting through rocks, and then, after Yao and Shin are both dead, he becomes emperor himself, and enjoys a long reign. This is utterly impossible. In one passage Yao's successor is called Shin-Yü.

The *difference* between the commencements of the respective reigns of Yao and Yü is as follows:

according to Semakuang,	2357	and	2207	— 150 years,
„ Panku,	2303	„	2183	— 120
„ Bambus-book,	2147	„	1991	— 156

that is, in the very authority which is in other points so valuable, the difference is greater than it is in the latest systems.

We have Yü's own unquestionably genuine account of the labour employed upon the great work by which he saved the country in the inundation. After

the Egyptian monuments there is no extant contemporary testimony more authentic, and none so old as the modest and noble inscription of that extraordinary man. It is true that it has now become illegible, but a copy was made of it about 1200, in the time of the Song, which has been preserved in the high school of Si-an-fu, and in the Imperial archives at Pekin. Hager has given a tracing of it.[163] Only those who are unacquainted with the subject can entertain any doubt as to its originality.

As regards the interpretation, the correctness of the transcript of the primitive characters into the ordinary written signs is essentially authenticated by Chinese tradition and research. Yü the Great is as much an historical king as Charlemagne; and the Imperial tribute-roll of his reign in the Shuking is a contemporary and public document, just as certainly as are the capitularies of the king of the Franks. The inscription itself, which is the most ancient in the world next to those of the Old Empire in Egypt, is perfectly trustworthy and intelligible, and evinces the vast antiquity of writing in China; for its characters are perfectly conventional, even at that early time, and the meaning is quite clear. The French version indeed of Father Amiot, published by Hager, is not in the true sense of the word a translation. It is a transcript of the simple text, in which considerable interpolations have been made without any authority for them in the original, which is the purest and most authentic sample of the ancient Chinese. Klaproth's [164] is the first which deserves to be called a

[163] Monument de Yu, ou la plus ancienne Inscription de la Chine, suivie de trente-deux formes d'anciens caractères chinois, avec quelques remarques sur cette inscription et sur ces caractères, par Joseph Hager. Paris, 1802, fol. Klaproth (p. 25.) compared it with another copy which he found in a Chinese work.

[164] Inscription of Yü, translated and explained by Julius von Klaproth. Berlin, 1811, 4to.

translation, and some parts even of it might be rendered more accurately. The literal version on the opposite page will show the monumental form of the inscription [165], and enable those who have any acquaintance with the language to understand the philological principle upon which my accompanying translation is based. The aim has been to give it the concise character of the original, and to mark the division into three stanzas, which correspond with each other almost like strophes. The speech of the emperor already quoted out of the Shuking was my guide in rendering the first. A comparison of the two will convince every one that the author of the Shuking had this inscription before him.

Translation.

"The venerable emperor exclaimed with a sigh: 'Ho! assistant
Counsellor![166] The islands, great and small, up to the mountain's top,[167]
The door of the birds and of beasts[168], all is overflowed together,
Is swamped: be it thy care to open the way, to let off the water.'

"I had long forgotten my house, I lived on the top of Yo-lu, in anxiety and weariness my body was consumed, my spirit had no rest: I walked, I turned back, I settled, I ordained: Shoo-a, Yo, Tai, Shen are the beginning and end of my numerous works.

"My task is completed: my sacrifice I have offered

[165] The asterisks in the text mark the end of the several sentences or verses.

[166] This is generally translated, helpers, counsellors, in the plural number, but neither in the Shuking, nor in this inscription, is the plural used.

[167] The lowlands and valleys are already overflowed, nothing but the mountain-tops, the forests, and caverns, are out of the water.

[168] Door, i.e. habitation, lair, resort.

IX.	VIII.	VII.	VI.	V.	IV.	III.	II.	I.
QUIES	IN MARE DIRIGI	FINIRE	SUA	FRANGERE	OBLIVISCI	INUNDARI	INSULA PARVA	VENERANDUS
FUGERE	PENETRARE	SECUNDUS	YO	COR	DOMUS	CIRCUMFLUI	JUNCTIO (=cum, præpositio)	IMPERATOR
SALTARE	VESTIMENTUM	SACRIFICARE	TAI	NON	MORARI	AURIS (=tu, tua)	SUMMUS VERTEX	DICERE
SEMPER	PARARI	TRISTITIA	SEN	NON-ESSE	YO-	INTELLIGENTIA	AVIS	SUSPIRANS
CURRERE	CIBUS	FINIRE	PRINCIPIUM	HORA	LU	VIAM APERIRE	BESTIA	ADJUVANS
	CONFICI	TENEBRÆ	FINIS	IRE	ALTISSIMUS MONS	AURIS (=et, conj.)	GERMINARE (=nota genitivi)	CONSILIARIUS
	DECEMMILLIA	MUTARE	OPUS	VENIRE	SCIENTIA	TOLLERE	PORTA	PRÆSTO
	REGNA	MERIDIES	MULTITUDO	RECTUM	LABOR	JAM DIU	MIXTUM	GUBERNARE
	IPSA	FLUVIUS	LABOR	STABILIRE	CORPUS	TOTUM	CORPUS	INSULA

in the second month: trouble is at an end, the dark destiny is changed: the streams of the south flow down to the sea: garments are prepared, food is provided, all the nations have rest: the people enjoy themselves with gambols and dancing."[169]

All the confusion or ignorance of the missionaries arises from their believing that this event referred to the Flood of Noah, which never reached this country.

Chinese writers have never considered this great work of Yü as anything more than the deliverance and preservation of the country from the rising and outbreak of several streams.

In a short Chinese account of it published by Klaproth is the following:[170]

"In the sixty-first year of the reign of the Emperor Yao, serious mischief was caused by inundations. The emperor took counsel with the great men of the empire, who advised him to employ Kuen to drain off the water. — Kuen was engaged upon it for nine years without success, and was condemned to be imprisoned for life. His son Yü was appointed in his stead. — At the end of nineteen years he succeeded in stopping the inundation, and made a report to the emperor upon the subject."

But the historical truth of the fact is fully proved both by the inscription and the work of Yü itself. The inscription was on the top of the mountain Yu-lu-fun, in the district of Shen-shu-fu. Owing to its having become illegible in early times, it was removed to the top of an adjoining mountain. The original was discovered, as already mentioned, in the

[169] This may have been an exclamation: Provide garments, prepare food, live at ease, all ye nations — let the people indulge in gambols and dancing.

[170] Asia Polyglotta, (2nd edit.) p. 32. It contains also the detailed illustration from the work of the learned disciple of Confucius, Meng-tsö.

beginning of the 13th century, and transcribed into more modern characters.[171] The former locality tallies exactly with the very interesting description of the empire in the time of Yü which we find at the opening of the second book of the Shuking.[172] It is a public statistical document, which, if not made in his reign, was, at all events, drawn up immediately after his death, and it will bear comparison with the Monumentum Ancyranum of Augustus.

It may be presumed, after this verification, that in future nobody will seriously doubt the strictly epic description of the Shuking in the Canon of Yü, where we read:[173]

"The emperor said: O thou Governor of the four mountains of the empire!
The swelling flood is producing mischief:
It spreads itself far and wide:
It surrounds the hills, it overflows the dams:
Rushing impetuously along it rises up to heaven:
The common people complain and sigh."

Upon this Kuen is at length recommended: for nine years he is employed on the work, but accomplishes nothing. The emperor, who was in his 70th year, then promises his throne to any one who will find a remedy for the evil. Yü-Shin, an unmarried man, is proposed: which is simply a mythical combination of Yü and Shin, in order to connect the great deliverer with the two old emperors, Yao and Shin. In a subsequent passage, the person selected is called simply Yü. The punishment of Kuen is then mentioned in the second chapter, the Canon of Shin.[174] In the following section (the Deli-

171 Klaproth, Monument of Yü, p. 24—28.
172 Shuking, p. 108—115., Medhurst's edit., Shanghai, 1846.
173 Ibid. p. 9—12.
174 Ibid. p. 27.

berations of Yü the Great) the emperor thanks Yü[175] in the following terms: "In the time of the great inundation thou performedst thy promise and completedst thy work." Here we have an authentic standard for testing the value of the stories in the old Shuking. They seem to be a compilation of fragments taken from dry authentic records and historical ballads. The historical version is the later form, and hence it is in several places at variance with the historical facts.

This Yü, whose name is written with the same signs, was the founder of the first Chinese dynasty, and took the throne-name of Hia. With him, therefore, Chinese history proper commences. Stronger proof cannot be given of the loose and unhistorical manner in which his reign has been joined on to that of the great Emperor Yao, the hero of the traditions of the early empire of the Shen-si, than the story we have quoted from the Shuking. But this is no reason for doubting the historical character of Yao. Ideler's calculation of the astronomical passage in the Shuking, before alluded to, settles that question. (Supplement, iv. 297. seq.)

In the first chapter of Yao the four zodiacal signs are recorded, namely, the equinoxes and the solstices, with which the four cardinal points of the year coincided in his time. Two of these still bear the same name. The other two are explained by an authentic tradition emanating from learned men in the time of the Han (Stations 25 and 4, 11 and 18). Ideler computed the constellations backwards for 4000 years, from 1837 to 2163 B. C. This latter date only differs by 16 years (2163 instead of 2147) from the entry in the Bambus-book of the *commencement* of Yao's reign; in other words, the year 2163 was 16 years *prior* to his accession. According to Panku, Yao began to reign in 2303, and consequently, according to the usual traditional length of his reign, it

[175] Shuking, p. 50., Medhurst's edit., Shanghai, 1846.

lasted till 2202; according to the Semakuang, he reigned from 2357 to 2256.

The question is, whether Ideler's calculation holds good for a longer series of years. When Gaubil says that very little reliance can be placed on this entry, because we cannot be sure that the places of the stars were at that time accurately observed, all doubt on that head is removed by Ideler's computations. Gaubil was obliged to be circumspect. In pursuance of orders from Rome, the Jesuits did not venture to dwell too much on the antiquity of observations which reached beyond the Flood. But Fréret, also (397.), thinks there is an uncertainty to the extent of three degrees, which leaves a margin of 210 years.

The most ancient account is in the Shuking, chap. Y hiün, of the 12th month of the first year of Taikin, the second ruler of the Shang (second dynasty).[176] Fréret[177] says that, according to this, the only chronological systems respecting the commencement of Yao's reign on which reliance can be placed are those of the Bambus-book and the Semakuang. But even then there is still the discrepancy between 2145 (2147) and 2357. In order, therefore, to fix the date more definitely, recourse must be had to the most ancient astronomical data. It has been stated that, from the entry in the 12th moon of the first year of Taikin, the second king of the Shang (who, according to the Annals, reigned from 1753 to 1721), the date of Yao's accession must be either 2357 (according to the Semakuang and the Annals), or 2147 [Fréret, 2145] (according to the Bambus-book).

The difference, 210 years = 3 astronomical degrees.

In favour of the former it is urged that the *solar eclipse in the sign Fang* in the first year of Tshong Kang, the fourth ruler of the Hiü (according to Sema-

[176] Gaubil, Lettres édif. p. 328. seq. Id. 272. [177] P. 393.

kuang and the Annals, 2159—2147) took place in the year 2155 = the fifth year of Tshong Kang.

But against this the following objections are very properly raised:

1. That before the time of the Han, Fang was called *Ho*, *Ta-ho* (fire, great fire).

2. That the eclipse was a very partial one, less than an inch. But the one mentioned here filled everybody with alarm, and the astronomers were punished for not having prognosticated it.

3. That during the 13 years of Tshong Kang's reign, and the 27 of his son (40 in all), two usurpers held the supreme power. Yeü Tsho and the emperor lived in the desert; the whole story about troops being sent against the two astronomers is, consequently, a popular fable, like many others in the Shuking.

4. It seems that the first time a computation was made of the zodiacal signs, in reference to this eclipse, was by an astronomer, A. D. 600. In the oldest records of eclipses[178] no mention is made of the signs. The whole entry thus far is of a doubtful character.

It was in following out this train of reasoning that Fréret was struck with the idea of attempting to carry the chronology further, by making use of the cycle of 60 years.[179] His conclusions are as follows:

1. The reform of the calendar occurred in the year 104 of our era.

2. We possess two certain astronomical observations of solar eclipses prior to the Christian era:

On the 6th of September, 776 (in the time of the Tsheü, according to the Shuking), and on the 7th of Aug. 198 (in the time of the Han). According to the calendar, the latter lasted from the 10th moon of the second year of a cycle of 60 years to the 6th of the 40th year of the 9th cycle of the former.

[178] Fréret, 396. N. [179] P. 398.

The interval 211,085 days - - = 7148 lunations.
Lunations according to the cycles = 7145
3 lunations.

3. Consequently there is an intercalation of three months beyond the ordinary intercalation = 89 days. This is equivalent to 87°. 40′. Now as 2° 48′ = 60 years, 87° 40′ = 1880 years, for the above interval. Consequently 104+1880=1984 is the commencement of the old calendar; which, according to the Bambus-book, is the eighth year of Ta-Yü.

Consequently the accession of Yü, 1991, was the commencement of a regular chronology and adjustment of the year: and hence the accession of Yao was either +120=2111, or +156=2147.

We now give the proof which has been alluded to above. It ought to result from this, that the loss of the third month in the chronology of the Chinese, before the reform of the calendar under the Han, took place during the reign of the Tsin, which lasted 47 years. The fact of the first being lost under the Shang, and the second under the Tsheû, does not decide the question between the two entries, for these two Houses reigned a long time, and the epoch in which the loss of the month took place is not recorded. But the brief epoch of the Tsin settles it in favour of the Bambus-book. Now, if, upon the adjustment of the calendar by the cycle of 60 years in the year 981, the new moon of the month preceding the vernal equinox took place in the 15th degree of the Waterman, and if the calculation of the Bambus-book is confirmed by it

1. The loss of the first month, after $\frac{1880}{3} = 626\frac{2}{3}$ years [180], occurred in the year 1358 B. C.

This is the 201st year of the Shang.

[180] 60 years = 2° 20′ = 68 hours.
40 „ = 45 „
100 years = 4 days 17 hours.

2. The loss of the second month (1358 minus 627) occurred in the year 731 B.C.
   Which year is the 319th of the Tsheû, who began to reign in 1050.
3. The loss of the third month 105 B.C. (731 minus 626).

The ordinance that the beginning of the year should be thrown back to the tenth month was issued by the last king but one (246—210, that is within 4 years of the end of the Tsin dynasty). In the year 210, consequently, there were only 5 days wanting.

According to the common chronology the dates would run thus:[181]

Yü's accession - - -	2207 B.C.
One month lost - - -	1581
Two months lost - - -	954
Three months lost - -	328

Now, as the Tsin began to reign in the year 255, the loss of the third month would have taken place 73 years previously.

It would be sufficient for our purpose to adduce this proof of the correctness of the calculation in the Bambus-book. But I am convinced that additional evidence might be offered. The most important thing would be to ascertain whether more accurate data cannot be obtained about the epochs when the recession of the vernal equinox in the signs of the ecliptic took place in the reigns of the Shang and Tsheû.[182]

[181] Ideler, 335. N.
[182] See Gaubil, Traité, 232. 238. 243.

F

THE CHRONOLOGICAL RESULT.

I. HISTORICAL RESULT IN RESPECT TO THE DATES OF THE CHINESE.

THE general historical and chronological result of our previous researches into Chinese chronology may be summed up in the following terms:

I. Systematic Chinese history and chronology hardly go back as far as the year 2000 B.C., i.e. to the reign of Yü (1991).

II. This is the point at which the history of China, or of the empire, commences. For Yü was the founder of the dominion of the kings or princes of Shen-si in Southern China as far as the great river, inasmuch as he diverted the course of the Yellow River, and thereby rendered the fertile plains between the rivers capable of cultivation. The general statistical survey of the empire which was made in his reign, containing the details of the designs and institutions of that truly great emperor, proves that the foundation of the empire was really laid by him.

III. The Shen-si dynasty, however, possessed annals of an earlier date, at the head of which were the Great Fohi and the Emperor Hoangti, and a still earlier history before their time.

IV. This earlier history is subdivided into two parts:

First, that within the country itself:

Secondly, the Primeval time proper, or life of the Chinese people in their aboriginal country, Northern Asia, the country of Kienlung, and the mythical river of the North.

V. All the geographical traditions of the Chinese, as

may be seen in Ritter's work, refer to this immigration from the West.

VI. The inundation, therefore, in the reign of Yao had just as much to do with Noah's Flood, as the dams he erected and the canals he dug had to do with the Ark. The learned Jesuit Fathers were well aware of this, but they were prevented by orders from Rome from publishing the truth. The fact of so absurd an idea being accepted by the English and Scotch missionaries, and even by Morrison himself, is a very melancholy instance of the way in which the sound judgment of learned men may be warped by rabbinical superstition and the intolerant ignorance of their Churches, in the investigation of historical truth.

II. General Chronological Result.

We shall content ourselves with expressing the general result in the following terms:

1. It was assumed, as Fréret has shown, so early as in the reign of the Han, that 742 lunations, 22 of which were intercalated, are equivalent to 60 years. They were, therefore, not aware that there was any flaw in that calculation, and consequently could not know how to correct it.

2. In like manner, the only cycle in use among the Turanian races, in Old India and Thibet, was that of 60 years, and in the form 12×5.

3. In the Chaldee chronology, on the other hand, a cycle of 60×10 years was employed (10 sossi being equivalent to one saros), and Josephus styled the epoch of 600 years which grew out of it the Great Patriarchal year. It was necessary to observe this to understand the order of the constellations.

4. In reality, the intercalation of an extraordinary lunar month of 29 or even 30 days, every 600 years, produces *on the whole* a closer approximation between

the current years and the tropical, than the Julian intercalation. For the latter makes an excess of one day every 128 years, whereas the intercalation of a month of 30 days in 600 years produces a deficit of only $1\frac{2}{3}$ day (30 days instead of $28\frac{1}{3}$), in a month of 29 days $\frac{2}{3} = 1$ day.

5. If we would explain the neri of $600 \times 6 = 3600$ years by the same system, we must suppose that the later Chaldees were aware that the equation of this epoch is not perfectly accurate, and that they at the same time computed the duration at 5 days, so that it was only after the occurrence of 6 of those epochs that the year was again brought into complete equilibrium, inasmuch as they were obliged to omit the *extraordinary intercalation* at the end of the 3600 years.

6. As regards the reciprocal relations between the Chaldees and Chinese, the following points may be considered as established:

a. The earliest Chinese chronology rests upon a conventional basis peculiar to itself, that of limiting the lunar year by a cycle of 600 years, which is common to the whole of North Asia and the Chaldeans; and probably (as it is also met with in India) to the Bactrians also: this basis is *historical.*

b. The communication took place before the Chaldees invented the cycle of 600 years.

c. The Chinese observation is based upon the use of the Babylonian gnomon.

PART V.

THE

PHŒNICIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN ERAS AND HISTORICAL EPOCHS

CONFRONTED WITH THE EGYPTIAN DATES.

SECTION I.

THE PHŒNICIAN, ASSYRIAN, AND BABYLONIAN SYNCHRONISMS WITH THE HISTORY OF EGYPT.

A.

THE PHŒNICIAN SYNCHRONISMS.

I. The Points of Contact and the Points of Controversy.

Down to the present time neither the historical monuments nor the chronicles of either nation have furnished us with a direct synchronism between any Phœnician and Egyptian events. Ramses III. conquered Tyre; but nobody has told us in what year of Old Tyre the conquest was made. We cannot, however, avoid making a few observations upon the Phœnician dates on the present occasion, because they may possibly supply, or at least be supposed to supply, arguments against our view of the very high antiquity of the commencement of People-history. We hope, however, that they will strengthen our assumption, by proving its absolute necessity. There was an era both of ancient and modern Tyre, and there were registers in the temples of that city of the third millennium B.C. Out of these Menander of Ephesus compiled a historical narrative, extracts from which, as given by Josephus, will be found in our "Appendix of Authorities." But there is, besides this, a more special authority as to modern Tyre (the Tyre of the thirteenth century). Our determination of the date of Solomon is an important point for Egyptian history in two particulars, both for the computation

backwards and forwards. We have, in one case, the son of that monarch brought into contact with the Egyptian conqueror; in the other, the building of the Temple calls upon us to settle the question how long a period has intervened between the Exodus and that event. We assumed the building to have been commenced some ten years later than the ordinary computation. Since that, Movers, the most recent investigator of Phœnician history, for whose soundness as a critic the highest respect must be entertained, has felt compelled to place it 45 years later still than is ordinarily computed, and he accordingly disputes the date I have assigned to Solomon. The only argument advanced against me seems to be the assertion that the determination of the date of Hiram necessitates the adoption of his view, which, as we shall see forthwith, is founded on a mistake. The other charge against me is pretty much of the same character, namely, that I have made arbitrary alterations in the "Canon" of Manetho. This is the name which Movers gives even now to the Lists made by Africanus and Eusebius out of Manetho, which rarely agree with each other; and in which, even in the New Empire, there are many gaps, in the 20th Dynasty for instance, where all the names of the Ramessides are omitted. This is a view of the case for which I certainly was not prepared. Any one at all conversant with hieroglyphical research must be aware that, in spite of the devastation of so many centuries, the extant contemporary monuments furnish us with dates of reigns higher than those transmitted in the Lists. These, he thinks, can be got over by supposing there to have been collateral reigns in these instances, some of which I have myself admitted. But he forgets that I have only done so twice in the 12th Dynasty, and in the computation of the length of the reign of Tuthmōsis III. But in both of these cases it was the monuments themselves, and the contradictory entries in the records, which justified me,

and indeed compelled me to do so. Does he seriously mean to argue that we are bound to adhere to the 150 or 153 years assigned by the Epitomists to the dynasty of the Psammetici, when the sepulchral inscription of a man who lived during it, and who states his age in years, months, and days, as well as the number of years the kings reigned in whose time he was born and died, makes it 159 or 160, instead of the 150 or 153, not of Manetho's "Canon," which is unfortunately lost, but of two Lists which contradict each other, and are evidently full of errors of transcription? Fortunately we have now a sacred Apis who gives still more decisive evidence against Movers. But his chronology is in a most unfortunate plight, for I find that even my own calculation is too low, as the following researches will show. The year of the building of Solomon's Temple (969 in Movers) I no longer make 1003, but 1014, which very nearly agrees with the chronology generally adopted.

This difference of opinion, however, shall not deter me, before I test his system, from expressing the high respect I entertain for his sound Phœnician researches, to which I am so much indebted, and for which I have great pleasure in offering my thanks, both as regards the chronology and mythology.

II. THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE.

IT might, indeed, seem as though the assumption, about which there is no doubt, that Carthage was founded in the year 813 or 814, was at variance with all our previous Jewish chronology. It is, however, rendered certain, both from concurrent testimony and from concordant calculations.

Aristotle says that Utica was built 287 years before Carthage. Pliny states (likewise from native sources of information) that the shrine at Utica was consecrated

1178 years before his time, that is, in the year 1100 B.C., or a year later. Putting the two notices together, we must come to the conclusion that Carthage was built in 813 or 814 B.C. ($\frac{1100}{1099}-287$).

The well-known statement in Justin (xviii. 3.) also brings us to one of these two years. When, according to the few extant MSS., he says 72 years before the building of Rome, this computation, which makes it 825 or 826, would only be so far deserving of attention as to induce us to see whether we must decide in favour of 813 or 814. It cannot weaken the authority of the two other writers, or create any doubt in our minds.

If the informant of Pompeius Trogus is to be relied upon, and if he did not miscalculate, he certainly could not have written LXXII, but LXII: 753+62 makes 815, which may very easily have arisen from some other mode of computing the dates which were to be compared. In calculations of this kind, which depend upon a comparison of native and foreign eras, a difference of one year is no difference at all. The entry in Justin, when thus interpreted and corrected, certainly gives the preference to 814 over 813, and we therefore assume that 814 B.C. is the year of the commencement of the Carthaginian era.

What makes the whole calculation so important for our chronology, however, is this, that Josephus has given extracts from Menander's Phœnician Annals, in which the flight of Elissa from Tyre seems to be placed in the seventh year of the reign of her cruel brother Pygmalion, the king of that country. The whole passage is full of difficulties, but its immense importance to us consists, as will be apparent forthwith, in its giving the following synchronism—the 4th year of Solomon = 11th (or 12th) year of Hirom.

In Menander's Annals of Phœnician history, extracted from the primeval registers of Tyre, Solomon and Hirom are mentioned as contemporaries. Now,

Josephus' main object was to show that the stories he quoted from Jewish history, and the date assigned by him to Solomon, agreed with these Tyrian Annals. This would have compelled the spiteful Alexandrians and incredulous Romans to desist from rejecting the despised traditions of his people as barbarous and incredible fables, and from writing such nonsense as even his contemporary Tacitus was still writing about them.

A closer examination of the relation between the dates of Hirom and Solomon, will also assist us in settling the date of Carthage.

III. THE ELEVENTH YEAR OF HIROM AND HIS SYNCHRONISMS WITH SOLOMON.

OWING to the importance of the points now under discussion, we have inserted in the "Appendix of Authorities" the extracts made by Josephus from the historical works of Dius and Menander. Movers has submitted these invaluable fragments to critical examination. In reference to this we subjoin the following synopsis of the whole series of Tyrian rulers, from Hirom to the foundation of Carthage.

Abibalos (Abi-Bahal, of whom Baal is the father) was succeeded by

	Regnal Years.	Lived.	Accession.
Hirom (HURAM, the Belsnake?) - - -	34	53	in 20th year.
Baleastartos (BAHAL-ASTAROTH), his son -	7	43	„ 37th
Abdastartos (servant of Astarte), his son -	9	29	„ 21st
Popular rising: headed by the four sons of the royal nurse, the murderers, the eldest of whom became king:			
Anonymous (government seized by the slaves?)	12	—	in — year.
	62 years.		

	Regnal Years.	Lived.	Accession.
Brought forward -	62		
Astartos, son of Baleastartos - - -	12	54	„ 42nd year.
Astarymos (Astarim, Astartier), his brother, is dethroned and murdered by his brother - - -	9	54	„ 46th
Pheles (the beautiful) Dethroned and slain by	0 8 m.	50	„ 50th
Eithobalos (proximity of Baal) - - -	32	68	„ 37th
Balezaros (Bahal Zor, i. e. Melkart), son -	6	45	„ 40th
Myttonos (Mutton, Gift, i. e. of Baal), son -	9	32	„ 24th
Phygmalion (Smith of the Most High, Sculptor)	47	56	„ 10th
Sum total -	177 years and 8 months.		

In order to test these dates which have come down to us in the translation of Josephus and Rufinus, we must notice the two following remarks of the former of these writers:

First of all upon that of Menander:

"In the seventh year of Pygmalion his sister fled, and founded the city of Carthage, in Libya."

Then follows his own calculation:

"From the reign of Hirom (i. e. from the first year of Hirom) to the building of Carthage -	155 yrs. 8 mths.
"From the 12th year of Hirom (the year of the building of the Temple), to the building of Carthage - - - -	143 yrs. 8 mths."

We see at once that these two latter sums agree perfectly. They are also corroborated by another statement in the same work of Josephus (ii. 2.), where he says that the period between the accession of Hirom and the building of Carthage was 150 years. Assuming these dates to be correct, there are 18 regnal years wanting. For, if there was an interval of 155 years and 8 months between the first year of Hirom and the 7th of Pygmalion (or 143 years and 8 months between the 12th of Hirom and the great event in the 7th of Pygmalion), the sum total, from the beginning of Hirom's reign to the end of Pygmalion's, which lasted 47 years, must be 195 years and 8 months, and not 177 and 8 months.

Movers, in order to get over the deficit of the 18 years, adopts the dates of Syncellus, and alters the 6 years of Balezar into 8, and the 9 of his successor, Mytton, into 25.[183] Eusebius tries to get out of the scrape better, by making the 9 into 29. But his entire omission of the tyrant's reign is quite inadmissible, while at the same time he gives Baleazar 17 years instead of 7. Undoubtedly there is something suspicious about the 12 years assigned to the tyrant, inasmuch as the same number follows directly after. Instead of 12, therefore, we only give him 10 years, and thus obtain $+20-2=18$ years.

It is hardly possible that the copyists should have made such serious blunders in the MSS. of Josephus (which are corroborated by Rufinus), as to alter a 6 into 8, and 9 into 25. There is no instance of such blundering.

From the beginning of Hirom's reign, then, to the death of Pygmalion, we have 195 years.

The Tyrian chronology adopted in our tables is calculated according to this restoration.

It now remains for us to consider the most important of all chronological data — we mean the one about the

[183] Movers, Phœnicians, ii. A. 138. Comp. B. 149—158.

era of Tyre, where Josephus mentions the synchronisms of the building of the Temple.[184] He says, without further comment, that the eleventh year of Hirom, which he here makes parallel to the fourth of Solomon, was the two hundred and fortieth from the building of Tyre. This is not a calculation, but a fact. He found it so stated in the Phœnician Annals of Menander, which he had before him, and which must have reckoned by years from the building of Tyre.

But it is obviously his own computation that it was this identical eleventh year of Hirom which was then current (as he, Josephus, expresses himself) when the Temple was built, and not an earlier or later one. Not only did the Tyrian Annals not give the synchronistic year, but they never even mentioned the building of the Temple at all. If they had, Josephus assuredly would not have forgotten to tell us of such a treasure. But he says plainly, that the synchronism is his own calculation, for, in his work against Apion, he makes it the twelfth year. And whichever of the two is the correct date—it may be even a third date—the important point to us is this, that

The 11th year of Hirom was the 240th after the building of Tyre.

This being established, we may perhaps be able to compute the synchronism for ourselves, by the same biblical data from which the Jewish historian must himself have calculated it.

Movers is good-natured enough to suppose that Josephus found the twelfth year of Hirom recorded somewhere or other, as the Phœnician synchronism corresponding to the building of Solomon's Temple; (in the other passage, therefore, he must have found the eleventh year;) but he cannot help admitting that, in the citation from Menander, nothing whatever is said about the building of the Temple, still less

[184] Ant. viii. 3. 1. Comp. Movers, ii. B. p. 138. note.

about the year; that Dius likewise does not mention it; the former, in fact, simply says that Solomon was a contemporary and friend of Hirom. If Josephus found the synchronism in some other author, and repeated it on his authority, it is clear that he gave the names of the authorities who said nothing whatever about the building of the Temple, and yet did not give the names of those who supplied such welcome data and so important for settling the chronology. This would have been an oversight which nobody was less likely to commit than Josephus, especially in a controversy with the well-read and spiteful Alexandrian, who cared nothing about Jewish chronology.

The assumption may be well founded, or it may not; at all events, there is no authority for it; it rests exclusively upon Josephus' chronological assumptions in respect to Jewish history, that is, upon statements in the Bible. Now, what did he find there respecting Hiram, or Hirom? Four entries, well adapted, we might suppose, to give him a clue, and also to make him think. They are as follows:

1. Hiram sent workmen to David, and cedar wood, to build him a palace at Jerusalem. (2 Sam. v. 11.; 1 Chr. xiv. 1.)

2. He did the same to Solomon for building the Temple, and indeed when making his preparations for hewing the stone (1 Kings v. 12. seq.; 2 Chron. ii. 3—16., comp. ix. 10, 11.)

3. After the works were completed, he received from Solomon twenty villages in Galilee, and this came to pass at the end of twenty years.

4. After that he sent him seamen for his fleet at Ophir. (1 Kings ix. 10—14. 26—28.)

Hiram, therefore, must have been living at all events in the 24th year of Solomon's reign.

On the other hand, it is impossible to determine the precise date of the building of the cedar house of David.

We are quite ready to agree with Movers that it does not follow from the place where this is noticed in the Book of Kings, that the building commenced immediately after the royal residence was removed from Hebron to Jerusalem, in the eighth year of David's reign, though that fact is mentioned immediately before it. It must, however, be admitted that it is not very probable David should wait till the end of his reign to provide a suitable house for himself and his numerous wives. Whoever insists upon this, would do more wisely to invent, like Tatian, and other ecclesiastical writers, a second Hiram, in spite of its positive impossibility. The historical critic, however, will suppose that Hiram, as the celebrated friend of Solomon, is here mentioned instead of his father Abibalos. At all events, the first year of Hiram cannot be placed later than the 30th of David, even if, out of regard for the Jewish chronologers, rather than from historical probability, we should be prepared to admit that the Indian fleet was fitted out by Solomon in the very year in which he gave to Hiram the twenty villages in Galilee, the price of the labourers and the assistance supplied by him, and that this was also the year of his death. We might indeed assume the very reverse, for it is mentioned that Hiram was very dissatisfied with the bargain when he saw the twenty villages, and called them "dung." Yet it would seem, from the Phœnician accounts, that they contrived to be on friendly terms. The chronicle states that he received besides a considerable sum of money from Solomon. He was probably reimbursed by the partnership with the Jewish king in the Indian trade, of which the latter had the key.

Now, looking at the question immediately before us, the date of the foundation of Carthage, we cannot disguise the fact that the flight of Elissa is chronologically very loosely connected with the computation of the era of Carthage, which, as we have seen, must, according to the best authorities, date from

814 B. C. It will be necessary, therefore, to make a special calculation of our own, in order to see what number of years elapsed between her flight into Africa and the consecration of the new city which had to be built in the meantime. Now we learn that the colony of patricians which Elissa took with her settled first in the old city of Byrsa, (not "Cow-hide," but "Citadel," namely "Bozra,") whether they built the city itself, or, as seems certain, found there an ancient Phœnician settlement. Around this citadel they afterwards built, in the circle (Ma'hal, whence Magalia), the new city (Kartharasa, whence the Karkhedon of the Greeks, Carthago of the Romans); and it is admitted to be this new city, the dedication of which, after it had been walled in, gave rise to the era of Carthage. This accordingly may just as well have happened 60 years as 20 after the flight of Elissa. By attempting to combine the two events, we lose the true year for both one and the other, and throw everything into confusion.

The celebrated passage in Josephus, then, gives us no new information about the era of Carthage, but it is not directly at variance with it; on the contrary, it confirms it as far as it goes. Neither does it tell us anything more than we know from the Bible about the date of Solomon.

But it gives us positive data for the era of the Sidonian Tyre, which is so important, and which we now proceed to consider.

IV. THE ERA OF THE SIDONIAN (MODERN) TYRE, AND ITS POINTS OF CONTACT WITH JEWISH AND EGYPTIAN DATES.

THE eleventh year of King Hirom was the two hundred and fortieth after the building of Tyre.

This is all the information we derive from Josephus in aid of the Tyrian chronology.

But the value of the Tyrian era, as well as of every

other era, in reference to general history, consists in its enabling us to incorporate it into the general history of nations. In this point of view, Tyrian and Jewish chronology, to a certain extent, mutually assist each other. But a third point has been hitherto wanting for verifying the system we have pursued with regard to them both. The era of Carthage does not supply this, as has been thought by some, any more than it can itself be determined with anything like accuracy by the Tyrian series.

We will now endeavour to show that the Egyptian chronology does, to a certain extent, supply the means of fixing the limits somewhat more accurately than has been possible heretofore, and that it explains more especially the origin of the Tyrian era.

Jewish history possesses two points of synchronism with Tyre—Solomon and Hirom, and Ahab and Ithbaal, or Ithobaal, whose daughter Jezebel Ahab married. We shall point out, upon the basis of the previous research, that there is a perfect concordance between our dates of the two Jewish kings and the Tyrian accounts, whereas Movers' assumptions, which differ so materially from the common Jewish chronology, involve us in inextricable difficulties.

We think that the year 1014 is proved to be the year of the building of the Temple on coherent critical grounds, and it differs very little from the ordinary computation. But this date is the result of research based upon the Bible, and such it remains. It cannot be said that we have authentic proof that this is the year. The fact of Movers having adopted the year 969, or 45 years later, shows that a little further examination of the point may not be wholly supererogatory.

The commencement of the Tyrian era has now been pretty generally fixed at about 1250, and this date has been adopted by Duncker in his ancient history, with a soundness of judgment and historical tact for which he

is so eminently distinguished. We think we can show that the more accurate date is 1254. No one has yet attempted to explain it historically. Justin (xviii. 3.) remarks, and it certainly was not an invention of his own, that Tyre was founded by the Sidonians, who fled thither when the king of Askalon captured their city, and that the date of its foundation was the year before the sack of Troy. Did we but know at how many years before the Olympiads, or the building of Rome, Pompeius Trogus computed that event; and whether, like Eratosthenes, he adopted 1183 (1184), 407 before the Olympiads, or 1209 like the Parian register, or like Herodotus, Thucydides, and others, some intervening date between 1250 and 1270!

The above remark of Justin may probably be very important to us hereafter, but it can never form the starting-point of serious research, because it is altogether unsupported.

The Assyrian era of Ninus and Semiramis is in the same category. The latter we think may be determined to a year, and that it coincides with the year 1273 B. C., the date which Movers also adopts for it. But he considers the Semiramis of the 13th century as a mere corruption of the myth of the Goddess Derketo, or Semiramis, interspersed with a few historical traits of a later Queen Semiramis-Atossa of the eighth century. This, we think, a pure delusion on the part of the ingenious critic. To history it is wholly indifferent what fables may have been mixed up with the stories of the childhood or youth of the historical Semiramis. The fact of the existence of a conquering queen in the early period of the Assyrian empire is just as historical as the foundation of the empire of the Franks by Charlemagne, in spite of all the fables that have been interwoven into the personal history of that great German king. If the name of Semiramis is the stumbling-block, then almost all the Assyrian and Babylonian kings must be set down as mythical, Nebu-

chadnezzar and Nabonadius, as well as Sardanapalus, for they are all names and titles of gods, just as much as Semiramis is, which signifies in Assyrian "the fluttering," and may mean the divine dove, and a queen.

But as early as the 17th year of Ninus, that is in 1257, the Assyrian empire embraced the same vast extent of territory which we find it occupying at its downfall in the eighth century. After the death of Semiramis, indeed, many of her conquests were lost, Egypt, for instance, which, together with Syria, Asia Minor, and Palestine, including Phœnicia, was made tributary in those 17 years. Diodorus (ii. 2. on the authority of Ctesias) mentions all these countries, as well as Cilicia, among the conquests of Ninus during that period.

This synchronism may appear at first sight not very suitable for the commencement of a new era of Tyre about the middle of the 13th century. A new era implies the commencement or restoration of independence, but not conquest. Now the Island of Tyre, on which the Sidonians after their expulsion settled, was indeed all but impregnable, but it acquired its importance from the city on the mainland over against it, as has been very well pointed out by Movers. The Tyre, the era of which commenced in the 13th century, must, in the time of which we are treating, have comprised both the island and the city in one. The island was the impregnable marine citadel. It protected the docks and warehouses, and the communication was kept up in every direction by means of a port on the north and south sides.

But assuming the Phœnicians and Assyrians to have been on friendly terms, how are we to account for Askalon making conquests in Phœnicia at a time when the vast Assyrian empire had already stretched out its arms over all Western Asia, either as a patron or conqueror? How do we know that the Sidonians were not driven out at an earlier period?

There is an extant Egyptian record which may possibly throw some light upon this obscure point, if we make use of it in conjunction with what we have discovered from the monuments of Ramses III.

In making our survey of those historical monuments of Egypt, a papyrus roll was mentioned, now in the Anastasi collection of the British Museum, of the same date as this very king, and therefore coeval with them and just as trustworthy as they are, but containing more valuable and historical matter. The following passage, which is perfectly intelligible, occurs in it:

"Tira, the city on the sea, which receives fishes from the water and grain from the land."

These words cannot mean that Tyre obtained its fish from the sea, and its grain from the mainland. This would be a wretched platitude. But they become significant and important when we know that the Tyre on the mainland, with the rich pastures behind and around it, and the Island-Tyre, the Queen of the Ocean, together formed Tyre.

This explains, also, the superscription of the tower, on which the name of Ramses was engraved, and which he had captured. It was the citadel (Maka) of the Tyre of the mainland. Nature has marked its position with indelible characters, by a steep isolated rock, fifty feet high, which rises abruptly out of the plain, a mile to the southward of the present peninsula of Tyre, close to the sea shore. A mile further to the southward, the site of the ruins of the old city, it is a dead flat. This rock, now forms the centre of the Roman aqueduct, which conveyed the water to the peninsula, and is consequently the tower captured by Ramses, Maka-Tira.

It is true that the Philistæans (Purusata) took part in this expedition against Tyre, and it is possible therefore that Askalon may have done so, though it is not mentioned. But they were the antagonists and enemies of

the Egyptians, and some of them are represented in fetters amongst their prisoners.

The war of Askalon against Sidon must consequently have taken place after Ramses III. conquered a portion of Phœnicia, that is, after 1274. But why may not the king of Askalon have been the ally of Assyria? A close connexion is represented as existing between the city and Queen Semiramis, which connexion may in reality very well be historical. The expedition of Askalon against Sidon may also very well have been undertaken somewhat later by an understanding with Assyria.

Here then we have not merely an historical Egyptian fact, but an equally historical Assyrian fact. There is an historical connexion between the two. Together they combine to throw light upon the obscure history of the origin of the Island-Tyre, just at the most critical period, and they harmonize with the statement in Justin.

According to our tables, Ramses captured the fortresses of Tyre on the mainland in the year 1287, after a naval action, in which the inhabitants of Akka (St. Jean d'Acre) took part.

The people of Askalon therefore might very well make war against Sidon, between 1260 and 1250. And it was either the year in which the Sidonians, after their expulsion, settled on the island, or the subsequent revival of the whole of Tyre, island and mainland, which gave rise to the institution of the Tyrian era.

Now the date of the commencement of this era, which we deduce from the statement that the eleventh year of Hirom is the two hundred and fortieth of that epoch, tallies perfectly with such a connexion. It is true that the era might be placed a few years too high, or a few years too low, as the synchronism of the eleventh year of Hirom and the fourth of Solomon rests only on the authority of Josephus. But, to say

the least of it, there is nothing in the assumption to warrant us in deviating from the common chronology by forty and odd years, as Movers has done.

We propose, therefore, at once, in spite of the slight discrepancy in the date which cannot be entirely got over, to take a cursory view of the relation between the previous assumptions and the result of our comparative criticism.

In the first place, the circumscribed limit of the epoch, as determined historically, puts Movers' chronology entirely out of the question. He makes the eleventh year of Hirom 969; consequently the era would commence in 1218. The latest date at which we have found it possible to fix its commencement is 1250, and this would therefore still be thirty-two years later.

Assuming, then, as shown in our chronological tables, in agreement with the statements and computations of Josephus, that the year 1014, the fourth of Solomon, was the eleventh of Hirom, the Tyrian chronology will stand thus:

Year of Tyre.			B. C.
1	-	Foundation of New-Island-Tyre -	1254
230	-	1st year of Hirom - - - -	1025
240	-	11th year of Hirom (4th of Solomon)	1015
263	-	34th (last) year of Hirom - -	992
264	-	1st year of Baleazar (7 years) -	991
271	-	1st year of Abdastartos (9 years)	984
280	-	1st year of the Tyrant (11 years instead of 12) - - - - -	974
292	-	1st year of Astartos (12 years) -	964
304	-	1st year of Astarymos (11 years) -	952
313	-	1st (and only) year of Phele (8 months)	943
331	-	1st year of Ithobal (32 years) -	942
363	-	1st year of Balezar (6 years) - -	910
369	-	1st year of Mytton (29 years instead of 9) - - - - -	904
378	-	1st year of Pygmalion (47 years) -	875

Year of Tyre.			B. C.
384	-	7th year of Pygmalion - -	869
424	-	47th year of Pygmalion - -	829

Now this series of synchronisms harmonizes also perfectly with the contemporaneity of Ahab and his father-in-law Ithobal, the father of Jezebel.

V. The Date of the Building of the Temple of Melkarth on the Isle of Tyre, or the Era of the Elder Tyre.

The supreme Patron God of the Tyre so well known to us in history was Melkarth; as the supreme Goddess of Sidon was Astarte. This, as Movers has rightly remarked, is direct proof that Tyre was not originally a Sidonian colony.[185] We admit, indeed, as a historical fact, that the city was rebuilt by the Sidonians about the middle of the 13th century, and doubtless by the Patrician races who had been previously driven out.

But the difference in their religious observances can be accounted for by another circumstance, which is equally authentic, and transmitted to us by Herodotus, one which harmonizes as well with our general view of ancient people-history, as it is at variance with the ordinary rabbinical assumptions.

The account in Herodotus (ii. 43, 44.) is deserving of especial attention, on account of the trouble he took to obtain it.

The many thousand years which the Egyptian priests claimed for the history of their country, and the high antiquity they assigned to Hercules, furnished him with matter for serious reflection. For, if this were true, how could he be the son of Alcmena, whose age he thought he knew perfectly well. He resolved, therefore, to probe the matter to the bottom; and he did so with his usual ingenuity. He tells his story in the following words:[186]

185 Movers, Phœnicians, ii. A. p. 167.

186 ii. 43, 44.

"Now, being anxious to obtain as clear an insight as possible into these matters, I embarked on board a ship bound for Tyre, in Phœnicia, where I heard there was a temple sacred to Hercules." He then enters into conversation with the priests of the temple about its date, who told him that "it was as old as the building of Tyre, and that Tyre had been inhabited for *two thousand three hundred years.*" If we adopt the usual date (the year 460) for Herodotus' visit to Egypt, the date of the building of Tyre would be 2760 B. C.

This, according to our Egyptian computations, is the synchronism of the first period of the 12th Dynasty, 13 years before Jacob's journey into Egypt, and 116 years after Abraham's immigration into Canaan. It will also appear in the next Book that even Phœnician mythology supplies some authority for this early date of the shrine at Tyre; and that astronomical considerations prevent the possibility of fixing it at an earlier epoch.

Now, if it should turn out that the immigration of Abraham can be established as an historical fact, as well as the natural phenomenon at the Dead Sea, by which the cities of the plain were destroyed, this would furnish a very satisfactory explanation of the commencement of the era of Old Tyre. The building of that shrine was obviously connected with the original settlement of the Phœnicians. But, according to the official answer given to Alexander by the Tyrians, there was a still older shrine there, a temple of Melkarth on the mainland. Whether this was true, or was merely an invention of theirs to get rid of the Macedonian's artful inquiry, who would have gladly given proof of his veneration for Melkarth-Hercules, and whom they accordingly paid in his own coin; still, from the obvious political unity between the island and city of Tyre, we may safely assume that the foundation of the two shrines took place at the same epoch in the same century.

We are now able, for the first time, properly to appre-

ciate and understand the tradition transmitted by Justin, which, like all the information about the Phœnicians in his 18th book, was doubtless derived from excellent native sources: That the earliest settlers on the Phœnician coast came from the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, from which they were driven by an earthquake.

This we take to be the historical gist of the passage (xviii. 3.):[187]

"The Tyrian people were akin to the Phœnicians, who, being visited by an earthquake, left their homes and settled, first, on the Assyrian Lake, from whence they moved to the sea coast, where they built a city, to which they gave the name of Sidon, owing to the abundance of fish; for Sidon signifies 'fish' in Phœnician."

Now Sidon does not literally mean "fish," but "the city of fishermen." The Assyrian inland sea (Assyrium Stagnum) is certainly not the Sea of Galilee, but the Dead Sea. The people who bordered upon it were Edom, and Phoinike is a literal translation of Edom, the Reddish, Red—a designation which there are several reasons for supposing to be aboriginal. Adam may perhaps be the same name.[188]

About the time, therefore, of the immigration of Abraham, the children of Edom were driven away by an earthquake from the Syrian inland sea, the original formation of which, by a subsidence of the ground below the level of the ocean, is a fact belonging to the pre-Adamite world.

It does not, however, necessarily follow that the authority from which this information was derived made this the original home of the Edomites. If general tradition and the formation of language point

[187] This passage will be explained more in detail in the Preface to the Fifth Book.

[188] Compare what is said above, under Ramses III., as to the name of Damascus.

alike to the mountains of Armenia as the birthplace of the Arab as well as Canaanitish races, we have probably especial evidence, and that native evidence, to the same effect as regards Edom, and consequently the Phœnicians. Alexander Polyhistor[189], the learned freedman and intimate friend of Sylla, quotes the following story out of a work of one of his contemporaries, Apollonius Molon, a native of Caria, a man in his time held in high repute both at Rhodes and at Rome, and whom we learn from Josephus to have been a learned writer, hostile to the Jews.[190] "MAN (*anthropos*, i. e. Adam, Edom) was driven with his sons, after the Flood, by the inhabitants of the country, from their home in Armenia, and they gradually moved on through the sandy regions, to the then uninhabited mountainous district of Syria. This took place three generations prior to Abraham the Wise, whose name signifies Father's Friend. He had two sons, one by an Egyptian wife, the patriarch of the twelve Arab princes; the other, named Laughter (Gelos, consequently the Laugher, i. e. Isaac), by a native woman. Laughter had eleven sons; and a twelfth, Joseph, from whom the third (of the Patriarchs), Moses, is descended."

The first explanation of this story is found indeed in the Bible; but it has obviously another derivation, quite independent of that, direct from Phœnician history. Movers very aptly identifies the mountainous district of Syria here mentioned as Southern Judæa, the region of Hebron, the home of the children of Enak, who built there Kiriath-Arba, afterwards called Hebron. At all events we have a pre-Abrahamitic migration of Edom, that is to say, of the ancestors of the Red Men (Phœnicians), to the coast. They held South

189 In Euseb. Præp. Evang. ix. 19., where the reading was Melon before Gaisford's correction.

190 Jos. contra Ap. ii. 7. and several following chapters. Comp. Movers, ii. A. p. 50. seqq.

Judæa, and all the region about the Dead Sea, part even of Arabia and Lower Egypt, perhaps.

In the days of Abraham these children of Edom wandered from the Dead Sea to the coast. A century afterwards we find the old island-shrine of Melkarth in existence, the relation between which and Esau we shall treat of in the Fifth Book.

There is evidence throughout of a connexion between oldest people-histories; and the history of Phœnicia proves at all events that Abraham, if he were an historical personage, cannot have lived later than the foundation of their oldest temples, but more probably about a century earlier.

B.

THE HISTORICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL SYNCHRONISMS OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

I. The Synchronism of Ninus and Semiramis with the Twentieth Dynasty.

Niebuhr, in his masterly treatise of 1819 on the historical advantages derived from the Armenian translation of the Chronicle of Eusebius, has proved that the Dynasty of the Ninyads in Berosus (Berôssos), the great historian of the Babylonians in the third century B.C., in perfect accordance with Herodotus, cannot have been established more than 526 years before the era of Nabonassar. The contrary theory, that the Assyrian empire is of vastly higher antiquity, is based upon the authority of Ctesias, a confused and uncritical writer, whom, moreover, we only know through the version of Diodorus. Unfortunately this view of history has been

so universally adopted in all the school-books, down to the publication of Duncker's work, that historians have not been tempted to denounce it because it has no foundation, nor theologians because it is at variance with Scripture. Generally speaking, indeed, the study of the old people-history of Asia has been totally neglected by German philologers and historians, Movers only, and a few younger scholars, having followed in the track of Niebuhr.

Here we have simply to deal with it as to its bearings on the synchronisms.

The term assigned by Herodotus to the Assyrian dominion in Upper Asia (ii. 145.) is, as we know, 520 years. He does not specify how long the Median anarchy, or their first period of independence, lasted, during which they had no kings.

The accession of Deioces is the first definite date we obtain from him. This took place in 709, which throws back the commencement of the Assyrian dominion beyond the year 1229. But his dates of the kings of Lydia show that his calculations must have gone back far beyond that time, and we glean from them what he considered the date of Ninus, and the length of time that the Median independence lasted. Agron, his first king of Lydia, began to reign in 1221. He was the son of Ninus, to whom the legends of Asia Minor, as we learn from Ctesias, assigned a reign of 52 years. If Herodotus adopted this date, he must have made the accession of Ninus to take place in 1273 (1221+52). Calculating downwards, and deducting the 52 years of the Assyrian dominion, this would make the date of the revolt of the Medes 753. They were the first, he says, who threw off the yoke of the Assyrians, and the other people of Upper Asia soon followed their example. We shall see in the sequel that, according to Berosus, the Babylonians did so in the year 747. The language of Herodotus and the computations of Berosus

are therefore in perfect accordance. In this manner also the date of 1273 is established, and we now know that Herodotus made the term of the Median independence 44 years (753–709).[191]

Eusebius, in citing from Berosus Alexander Polyhistor's list of the dynasties of Babylon, which we shall examine more closely hereafter, gives, after the dynasty of the Arabs (the fifth), one of 45 kings, who reigned 526 years; among these, and to all appearance at the head of them, stands the name of Semiramis. It was, consequently, an Assyrian dynasty.

Here, unfortunately, as is generally the case with the careless extracts of Eusebius from Polyhistor, he omits the regular quotation of dynasties and their regnal years. He then proceeds: "After these kings (says Polyhistor) Phul reigned over the Chaldeans; he is mentioned in Jewish history by the same name, and is said to have gone into Judea. He then mentions that Sennakherimos (Sennacherib) reigned." Here an explanation must be found why Sennacherib, the contemporary of Nabonassar, happens to be omitted in the list of Babylonian kings in the Canon of Ptolemy, although his son, Asseradinos (Esarhaddon) is included in it.

The general idea here to be borne in mind, in respect to the connexion between the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, is this:—The meaning of an Assyrian dynasty being dominant in Babylon for 526 years is simply that Nineveh, as the metropolis of the Assyrian empire, then governed Babylon and Media. But these kings of the race of Ninus, or the Derketadæ, naturally did not reside in Babylon, but among their own people at Nineveh, the city of Ninus, on the Tigris, opposite Mosul. Babylon itself, according to the custom of those

[191] For further details see researches by Johannes Brandis, executed with admirable clearness and care under the title of Assyriorum Tempora emendata, (1853) p. 3. seqq.

countries, was governed by a satrap, or viceroy, and one who doubtless exercised very great independent power. Sennacherib, therefore, reigned over the whole empire as supreme lord, and resided at Nineveh, the Assyrian metropolis. After various successful struggles with the Babylonian princes, who had hitherto acted under Nabonassar with the same extensive independent powers, he invested his son Assarhaddon with the sovereignty of Babylon. The struggles, however, with these princes still continued, till at length Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, who became satrap of Babylon in the hundred and twenty-third year of Nabonassar, not only made himself independent, but, in alliance with the Medes, checked the career of the almost universal empire of the Assyrians, and raised Babylon into the seat of empire of Western Asia. His history, according to Berosus, was as follows:—Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, commanded him to march against the Medes, who had revolted. Instead of this he made an alliance with Cyaxares, and marched with him against Nineveh. Babylon, therefore, became entirely independent upon the destruction of that city in 606. Of the regnal years of the kings of Assyria, from Phul to Sardanapalus, not one is given in the extracts from Polyhistor, except those of the last three—Assaradin, Samuges, Sardanapalus. No reliance can be placed on any of the other data. Even as regards the length of the reign of Sennacherib the data are incomplete. Nor do the extant remains of the Jewish chronicles, unfortunately, throw much more light upon his history. It is clear enough that Sennacherib was coeval with the later years of Hezekiah. But no chronology can be framed upon that. In what year of Hezekiah he first encamped before Jerusalem, in what year he set it on fire, and what was the date of his second advance upon it when he was obliged to retreat, cannot be determined at all from the extant Jewish notices. We might be

tempted to conclude from the statements in the Book of Kings, that he was murdered immediately after his retreat, and consequently before the embassy of Merodach-Baladan, and the death of Hezekiah. But this would be an erroneous conclusion, as appears from the account of Polyhistor.

We should thus have been without any guide, had not Rawlinson's and Layard's discoveries at Nineveh come to our assistance. From these we learn that the name of Sennacherib's father was Sargina, the Sargon of the Jews, Sarghun of the Arabs, and that he founded a new dynasty. Here again the prophetic views of Niebuhr have been verified in a wonderful manner. He supposed the commencement of the era of Nabonassar to be the commencement of a new dynasty, and, as we shall see, this is the only mode of solving the enigma.

It will appear from our tables what a satisfactory shape this knotty point of Jewish, Israelitish, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian synchronisms assumes, as soon as we discard all unauthenticated assumptions, and follow, for the history of the Babylonian kings, only the Canon; for the reigns of the Pharaohs, the Egyptian lists and monuments; and lastly, for the kings of Judah and of Israel, more especially, the chronicles of the kingdom of Judah, and the historical accounts in the Prophets.

In respect to this latter point, we would refer to our illustration of the dates of the kings in the Divided Kingdom given above, in the Third Part of this Book.

As regards the Egyptian dates, we have already shown that, after the year 1276, the public monuments gradually disappeared altogether, and that they ceased to ornament even the royal tombs. The succeeding dynasty, the 21st, exhibits similar decline. Sheshonk, at length, the chief of the 22nd, threw off the Assyrian yoke. He figures indeed as a conqueror in Palestine and Syria, which countries, as well as Mesopotamia, he brought

within the influence of Egypt. Owing, as it would seem, to mutual feelings of personal obligation, a bond of union, which was cemented by a matrimonial alliance, was formed between the two sovereigns when the royal house of Assyria had sunk into a state of effeminacy. This explains on the one hand the undoubtedly Assyrian names which occur in the genealogy of the house of Sheshonk; and, on the other, the hieroglyphical ornaments in the gorgeous chambers of the royal palace at Nineveh. The remains of this beautiful ivory-and-enamel work (which was not executed in Egypt) now adorn the British Museum.

As regards the Assyrian dates, there is only one trifling inaccuracy which has found its way into Niebuhr's calculations. The era of Nabonassar down to the accession of Nabopolassar is stated at 103 instead of 122 years, because he followed Syncellus, whose chronological entries will not bear any comparison with those of the Canon of Ptolemy. In consequence of this, Niebuhr placed the fall of Babylon, which according to the Canon occurred in 417, a few years too high. Assuming, therefore, 747 to be the year in which the great Assyrian empire came to an end, every historical fact recorded by the classics respecting the era of the Ninyads is satisfactorily explained. Nabonassar gave to Babylon a respectable provincial independence, although it was not the complete independence of Babylon the Great. The history of all the Asiatic monarchies is the same. Formed by great conquerors and supported by powerful armies, after a single reign or a few generations during which the energy of the founder still survives, they sink under the internal weakness of all despotisms, and the enervating luxury of harem-life. The heads of the dominant race, the military nobility, become gradually corrupted, and the empire, built up on an artificial basis, only awaits the first shock from without to yield to some new and enter-

prising conqueror. Thus Babylon fell; thus fell Nineveh before it, thus fell Persia after it, and so even, though in a different manner, fell the empire of Alexander.

But the more this striking coincidence appears to confirm Niebuhr's restoration of Assyrian chronology, the more we feel bound to ascertain whether the calculation of Berosus cannot be brought into more general accordance with the Bible, and be placed generally upon a more satisfactory footing.

In order to do this, we must make a thorough restoration of his Babylonian dynasties, commencing from their chronological starting-point. Such an investigation will also have an important bearing upon the dates and position of Egypt.

II. The Possibility of fixing the Date of the Second Babylonian Dynasty, or the Age of Zoroaster, and the Dates of the succeeding Dynasties down to Alexander.

Callisthenes, to whom, as the favourite of Alexander, all the treasures of Babylon were thrown open, had opportunities of consulting their astronomical observations dating back 1903 years before that monarch's time. This date is certain, from its being given in the Latin text of the Commentary of Simplicius in Aristotle's work upon "Heaven." Neither is its accuracy to be impugned on account of the Greek text of the genuine Simplicius, discovered by Peyron and edited by Brandis, containing a mythical entry of myriads of cyclical years [192] instead of the year 1903.

[192] Böckh, Metrologische Untersuchungen, p. 36.: and his Manetho, p. 113. Niebuhr, by an oversight, says 1905. The text of Simplicius in the Codex Taurinensis (in Brandis' Scholia ad Arist. p. 503 a.: preceded by an account of the astronomical observations transmitted by Callisthenes), runs thus: ἃς (παρατηρήσεις) ἱστορεῖ Πορφύριος ἐτῶν εἶναι χιλίων καὶ μυριάδων τριῶν ἕως τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος σωζομένας χρόνων. The Latin translation, made in the 13th century by G. de Moerbeka, runs thus: "Quales narrat Porphyrius esse annorum *mille et nongentorum trium* usque ad tempora

The following list of Babylonian dynasties in Polyhistor's extracts from Berosus is given in the Armenian version of Eusebius and in Syncellus.[193]

The First Dynasty of 86 Chaldean kings, said to have reigned in cycles of lunar years 34,080 years, we shall at present pass over. After this, says Polyhistor, the calculation by sari, neri, and sôssi, and every thing mythical, ceases. In Berosus the computation by solar years commences. This observation would lead us to suppose that, in the second dynasty, an alteration was made in the calendar, marking an astronomical epoch. As before, Berosus gave all the kings' names and their regnal years, consequently according to a fixed system of chronology.

(Second Dynasty, Median kings ["tyrants," i. e. foreign rulers]): Zoroaster and his 7 successors):

8 kings - - - - - - 224 years.

[A marginal note in the MS. says 234. Syncellus assigns to the 7 successors of Zoroaster 190 years: 34 therefore belonged to the founder of the Dynasty, or, if the marginal note is correct, 44.]

(Third Dynasty, no names, probably natives, therefore, Chaldeans):

11 kings (the date in the MS. blank—the marginal note fills it up with 48: read or if the reading of the note be adopted 54). 64

288 years.

Alexandri Macedonis servatas." The Aldine edition gives the same date, which is merely a re-translation back into Greek, p. 123. There is no authority for 31,000 years in the old accounts. Lepsius (Einl. p. 9. note 1.) has noticed how easy it is to make χιλίων καὶ μυριάδων (*M*) τριῶν, out of χιλίων καὶ ἐννεακοσίων (*Θ*) τριῶν.

[193] iv. 2. Conf. Sync. p. 78. 92. The corrected text will be found in our "Appendix of Authorities, Vol. I. p. 715. seqq.

Brought forward - 288 years.

(Fourth Dynasty, Chaldean kings):
49 kings - - - - - - 458

(Fifth Dynasty, Arab kings):
9 kings, 245 years: Syncellus, who gives six names[194], has in both MSS. 215 - 215

(Sixth Dynasty, Assyrian kings):
45 kings - - - - - - 526
Among these Semiramis is especially mentioned.

(Seventh Dynasty, Assyrian kings):
After Nabonassar (B. C. 747), native kings, feudatories of the Assyrians. Supposing the first year of Sargon=the first year of the Canon, we have the following series:

Sargina (Sargon, Arkean in the Canon: read Sarkean) reigned till the year 44
Sennacherib: reigned 18, read 28 years: First year - - - - 45
——— slain B.C. 676: year of the Canon - - - - - 72
Coeval with the fifth year of Esarhaddon (Assaradin) in Babylon.
Assarhaddon (from the year 675=73 of the Canon) to - - - 98
Saosdukhin (Samuges ?) 21 years to 99
Sardanapalus, brother of Samuges: 1 year (=Kiniladan 2) - - 102

1487 years.

[194] All the six kings mentioned by Syncellus have Chaldee names, and are doubtless therefore as spurious as the following 44 Assyrian kings, from Belus to Konkolerus, "who is also Sardanapalus," with 1460 years. The whole concoction comes from Cephalion, as appears from the Armenian version of Eusebius cap. 15. Unfortunately Moses of Chorene also, i. 16., does not go any farther.

Brought forward -		1487 years.
Sardanapalus burns himself to death in the palace, 626. End of the Assyrian empire - - -	122	
Length of the dynasty - - -		122
(Eighth Dynasty, Chaldee kings): 5 kings.		
1. Nabopolassar (Scythian period) 22 years - - - - -	123	
2. Nabokolassar, son, 43 years (Nabukodrossor, Nebuchadnezzar) - - - - -	144	
3. Illoarudam, son, 2 years (Evil-merodach of the Bible) - -	187	
4. Nerigassolassar, 4 years (Neriglossor) - - . -	189	
5. Nabonadus, 17 years - - -	193	
Last year of Nabonadus, capture of Babylon by Cyrus (Ol. 60, 1)	209	
Length of the dynasty - -		87
(Ninth Dynasty, Persian kings): 10 kings, from Cyrus to Darius Codomannus.		
First year of Cyrus, in the Canon	210	
Last year of Darius Codomannus	416	
Length of the dynasty - -		207
Length of Dynasties II.—IX.[195] -		1903 years.

[195]

II. Medes - - -	224	(234)	
III. Chaldees (48) - -	64	(54)	961
IV. Chaldees - - -	458		
V. Arabs - - -	215		
VI. Assyrians and Ninyads	526		
VII. Assyrians (2nd. Dyn.)	122		
VIII. Chaldees - - -	87		
IX. Persians - - -	207		
	1903		

The period, therefore, comprised between Zoroaster, the Median conqueror of Babylon, and the fall of the Babylonian monarchy, or the year before Alexander the Great, was 1904 years: i. e. within one year of the exact period from which Callisthenes stated that the Chaldeans possessed observations of the stars, or a regular calendar. It is indeed the very period since which, according to the testimony of Berosus on which we may rely, they possessed a solar year, regulated of course by cycles. Reducing this to years B.C., we obtain the following:

Zoroaster to Alexander (exclusive)	-	1903 years.
First year of Alexander (417 of the Canon) Olymp. 112, 2	B. C.	331
First year of Zoroaster, or beginning of the Median Dynasty in Babylon - corresponding with the 385th year of the 2nd Shepherd Dynasty, or the 1521st year of Menes.		2234,

The Egyptian synchronism for Ninus and Semiramis can therefore even now be established on a firm foundation.

Deducting from the above period of the length of the first five dynasties	1903 years, 961
this makes the first year of Ninus, before Alexander - - - - - -	942 years:
add from Alexander to the Birth of Christ - - - - - - -	331
which makes the first year of Ninus	B. C. 1273.

The Epitomists have not mentioned what was the length assigned to the reigns of Ninus and Semiramis by Berosus, in accordance with his Annals, and by Polyhistor after him. Herodotus, we know, says but very little

in his "Nine Muses" about this, the most brilliant and important portion of ancient Assyrian history. This may have arisen either from his having meant by Assyrian histories, to which he refers, a separate work of his own which is lost, or from his having intended to enter in greater detail into the subject in a subsequent Book but never did so.

We now proceed to examine more closely the first great epoch of the Assyrian empire, the beginning of which we have just determined. Castor and Cephalion, the authorities made use of by the chronographers, assign to Ninus - - - - - 52 years,
to Semiramis (Diodorus according to Ctesias,
Castor, and Cephalion) - - - - 42.

The only way of making these dates harmonize with anything we know about the history of Semiramis, is by supposing that the 52 years represent the sum total of the first two reigns, Semiramis having reigned jointly with Ninus after his tenth year, and subsequently as sole sovereign. The successor is said to be her son.

It was Ninus however, and not Semiramis, who, when sole occupant of the throne, conquered Egypt, he having established the empire in its entire extent in his 17th year. Egypt, as well as Syria and Phœnicia, is especially mentioned among the subjugated or tributary countries, as has been already remarked when treating of the Phœnician synchronisms.

The first year of the Assyrian era (1273 B. C.) is between three and six years after the last known successful campaign of Ramses III. The conquest of Egypt may therefore have occurred at a very early date. At all events, the coincidence of the dates is very remarkable. All at once, historical events cease to be recorded. The erection of public monuments is discontinued almost in an instant. We know of no internal reasons for such a change. The same dynasty reigned for a cen-

tury after. The key to it will be found in the rise of the Assyrian empire.

Semiramis overran Egypt, and, as we learn from the Assyrian annals, made a victorious campaign into Ethiopia (Kush).

All this harmonizes; but it can only be explained by our chronology, which differs from that of Champollion by about two hundred years. Egypt became tributary to Assyria, which at that precise period was at the zenith of its power. No conquest, no further campaign, barely even a trace, indeed, of public monuments. The foundation of the tomb of Ramses III. was laid, but the sculptures were never executed.

The satisfactory concordance between the chronology of the two states which has hitherto existed is a natural consequence of this system. The fact of Tuthmōsis III. making Nineveh as well as Babylon tributary in the 16th century, although his successors were unable to maintain their supremacy, and the circumstance of Egypt, on the other hand, becoming tributary to the Assyrians, and then being again triumphant two centuries afterwards in Asia, become intelligible. As the expedition of Tuthmōsis III. took place when Nineveh was weak (for Babylon was at that time governed by a national dynasty, the fourth, and at all events, therefore, was not a province of Assyria); so the campaign of Semiramis is explainable by the rapid decline of the Pharaonic dynasty, which, debased as it was by sensuality and avarice, squandered the resources of the country, and exhausted the energies of the people.

At this stage of the inquiry, we cannot refrain from touching upon the remark made by Herodotus (ii. 145.) when stating the duration of the Assyrian supremacy, to the effect that Hercules (the father of Belus, the father of Ninus) lived about 900 years before his time.

Niebuhr's calculation in the spirit of Herodotus is this:

Hercules - - - -	33 years.
Belus - - - - -	33
Ninus and the Ninyads - -	520
Duration of the independence of the Medes, before they had kings -	x
Four Median kings (i. 130.) and the Scythian supremacy 128+28 - 156 or according to the regnal years in Herodotus:	
Deioces 53	
Phraortes 22	
Cyaxares 40	
Astyages 35	
—— - - -	150
Cyrus down to the conquest of Babylon (Olymp. 60, 1.) - - - -	20
From Olymp. 60, 1 to 90, 1, which period Niebuhr, in his history, considers as the age of Herodotus - (not 84, 1, the date assigned in his first Lecture.)	120
	876
Assuming, as is done in our tables, for the ante-regal period in Media (see p. 434.)	44
Hercules lived before the time of Herodotus - - - - -	920 years.

If, on the contrary, we follow the usual chronology, and consider Olymp. 84, 1 (444 B. C.) as the age of Herodotus, this gives 24 years less, that is, 852 + 44 = 896, which is even more suitable.

At all events this solution appears to me sufficiently satisfactory, for the purpose of corroborating and elucidating the Assyrian chronology of Herodotus.

III. The First Babylonian Dynasty and its Commencement in the Year 3784 B. C.

It will easily be understood that, in treating this subject in a strictly chronological sense, we should leave the first dynasty entirely out of calculation. Yet it is pretty clear, that neither the chronology nor the history of the Chaldees can have originated at the epoch of the Median conquest of Babylon, in 2235 B. C. For astronomy has always been considered as the special province of the Chaldees, at all events, as compared with the other peoples of Asia, and the history of Babylon must have commenced with a native dynasty. The fall of that dynasty was the end of the first section of its popular and constitutional history, and, what is too important to be passed over unnoticed, they then discontinued the practice of computing by lunar cycles.

This first dynasty is said to have had 86 kings. They correspond to 84 kings of Media, who, according to the Bactrian calculations, preceded Zoroaster. But it is said to have reigned for a period of years which is entirely mythical: according to the extracts of Syncellus,

9 Sari,	of 3600	years,	consequently	32,400 years.
2 Neri,	„ 600	„	„	1,200
8 Sôssi,	„ 60	„	„	480
			Altogether,	34,080 years.

which is the precise number stated by him.

But in the extract of Eusebius, this era is, with equal distinctness, fixed at 33,091 years. Niebuhr suspected that Eusebius, owing to his not understanding the right number which he found recorded, may have deducted from it the first four dynasties. But, in the first place, this will not account for the discrepancy. For the date of the third dynasty we have found to be perfectly correct, and we may, therefore, confidently assume that Eusebius' first four dynasties

lasted 945 years. But the difference between the numbers in Eusebius and Syncellus is 989 years; besides which, we can see no reason why Eusebius should have taken the trouble of making that supposed deduction.

But may not both the dates be taken from Berosus, and be perfectly correct? We know very well what Syncellus' sum total signifies. It is nothing more than the result of computations by lunar cycles, and consequently it gives the length of the period in lunar years. As Berosus must necessarily have considered the first dynasty to have been wholly, or in part, historical, and clearly did so consider it, and as the length of the solar year must not only have been well known to him, but to the Chaldeans generally for two thousand years before his time, he probably gave the length of the period in solar years.

It is easy to calculate that 34,080 lunar years, i. e. 408,960 lunations, make very nearly the number given by Eusebius.

But ought we not to be able to compute it with perfect accuracy, according to the system of the Chaldeans?

Without arguing the question here which is fully entered into by Ideler[196], whether the methods adopted by astronomers and chronologers for more than a century for solving the Chaldean enigma be or be not admissible, we must always bear in mind, looking at it from a philological and critical point of view, the undeniable fact, that the Babylonians did compute their earliest history by the above-mentioned periods. The middle one of the three, that of 600 years, is especially mentioned by Josephus as the great year. In the passage which has been so frequently commented on[197], he says that the patriarchs must have lived so long to enable them to adjust the year, and establish a system of astronomy and geometry; inasmuch as the

[196] Handbook, i. 195 — 225. [197] Antiq. i. 3. 9., comp. 8.

great year only terminates at the end of *six hundred years*. Every attempt, whether ancient or modern, to explain away the primitive use of these cycles, or even to reduce their years to days, are mere fancies and feints, more worthy of Byzantine monks like Anianus and Panodorus, than men of science in the present day. We may also add, that they are all more or less deficient in sound foundation, both philological and historical.

As regards the lower unit of the three periods, that of 60 years, Fréret, in his noteworthy critical treatise of 1736 on Chinese chronology, has shown that 60 solar years are only 2 days and 20 hours less than 742 lunar months (namely, $12 \times 60 = 720$, and 22 intercalary months).

Bearing these two facts in mind, therefore, we shall have no difficulty in understanding that, supposing the difference to be three days with a trifling error, nothing could be more natural than for a people who reckoned by fixed lunar years to assume that, by the ordinary intercalation of a month after ten of these periods, the sun and moon would be brought into perfect harmony. To ascertain what the amount of actual error was, may have been a later step in advance; as was, without doubt, the one from a cycle of 60 to a cycle of 600 years. It may here, indeed, be stated by anticipation, that the oldest Chinese chronology, which, in spite of the scepticism of Ideler, we agree with Fréret in thinking was the key to their earliest system of astronomy (which is again the result of the multiplication of 5 and 12), is nothing more than the oldest deposit of Chaldean wisdom in Upper Asia.

It must, however, be obvious to any one but partially acquainted even with the state of Babylonian science, and after what Lepsius has proved in respect to the earliest division of time and observations of the stars in Egypt, that it cannot be matter of surprise if the Chaldees were not satisfied with the equation of the cycle of 600 years, but wished to render it more complete by the

introduction of one consisting of six such periods. Even the intercalation of a month of 29 days made, according to the former calculation, an excess of 16 hours. For the real difference is only 680 hours in 600 years, which is equal to 28 days 8 hours. After six revolutions of this cycle the difference therefore becomes exactly four days. But if a whole month of 30 days were intercalated every 600 years, there would be, at the end of 3600 years, an excess of 10 days. We do not, however, pretend to know what adjustment they intended to make with a cycle of 3600 years. They could practically easily ascertain the relation between true time and their cycle of 60 years every 600 years. The adjustment by cycles of 3600 years must always be a matter of theory, and this was incomplete.

The practical system is that of 60 and 600 years; and the existence of these two, we think, has not only been proved, but satisfactorily explained.

Now, if we apply this equation of 742 months and 60 solar years to the difference between 34,080 lunar and 33,091 solar years, the number that results is 33,069½. If, therefore, the number in Eusebius is strictly accurate, and if the Babylonians were unacquainted with any other system of adjustment, our result would only be 21½ years in excess, which, in such high numbers, may almost be considered as equivalent to identity. But if we make the solar year of 365 days the basis of equation, without any intercalation, the 408,960 lunar months are equal to 33,091 years, leaving out the fractions, or absolutely 33,092 years and 2 months. The latter assumption is evidently, therefore, the correct one.

Now, what do these 33,091 years comprise? First of all, the reigns of the first two kings, Euechius and Chômasbelus. To the former 4 neri are assigned, to the latter 4 neri and 5 sôssi. This makes, in lunar years, 5010 years; and there are consequently 28,980 years over.

It is obvious, therefore, that the separation was not made here between the mythical and historical periods of the first dynasty. We should probably have found it in the later series of kings, had their names been transmitted. Polyhistor did enumerate them all, but Christian epitomists had not time! We might be tempted to suppose that the former of these names was Nimrod (Nebrôd, in the Septuagint). But the Christian chronographers, and still less Josephus, would certainly not have failed to mention it; and they were acquainted with the work of Berosus. It would have been the greatest triumph to them, inasmuch as it would have furnished the most ancient confirmation of Scripture, in respect to Asiatic histories, from their own native chronicles. But nobody throws out a hint even to that effect.

When we find in Syncellus the words, "Euechius, who was also called Nimrod;" or in Cedrenus, "Nimrod is also called Euechius;" this simply means that the later Christian chronographers did not find him among the historical kings. Both, indeed, are said to be the first kings of Babylon, the one in the Bible (which, however, does not say that he was a Babylonian), the other by the Babylonians. They are the same king, but under different names! Rawlinson's discoveries would seem to have established the fact that Nimri was a Scythian (Turanian) race, which made incursions and conquests in Southern Babylonia. Nimrod, therefore, probably belonged to that race. In the Book of the Origines it will be seen what is the consequence of this, and it will also be noticed in the historical arrangement of the languages. The whole story in the Bible, and the position which has been assigned to it, becomes thus for the first time intelligible.

At all events the name of Nimrod was not one of those of the kings of the first Chaldee dynasty. There is, however, another way of explaining the commencement

of the historical and chronological date of Babylon, by supposing that the historical period is represented by the excess of the sum total over the number of complete sari.

Now, in the first place, 9 complete sari make - - - - -	32,400 years.
Deducting these from the whole number - - - - - -	34,080
the remainder is -	1,680 years.

If the whole period were mythical (which, however, after what has been said above, is historically untenable), what was the use of having fractions? The earlier, purely mythical, calculation about the Origines of mankind, before and after the Flood, consists of 120 complete sari.

The 1680 lunar years, however, are very nearly equivalent to 1550 Julian years.

The year 1550 before Zoroaster would, therefore, be the date of the commencement of the era; and as the reign of that Median conqueror began in the year 2234 B. C., the chronological and historical age of Babylon would commence in the year 3784 B. C., that is, exactly 200 years after the creation of Adam, according to the ordinary interpretation of the numbers in the Hebrew text.

But, what is a much more important point for the most ancient people-history, the first year of Menes, according to our tables, is coincident with the hundred and sixty-first year of the Babylonian era. Nimrod's conquests of Semitic Asia, or at least of Mesopotamia, in the widest sense, were consequently made in the earliest part of the first dynasty, or else in the unchronological, though historical, foretime of Babylon. At all events, the tradition in the Book of Genesis is verified, that Babel is older than Assur and Nineveh. Ninus and the supremacy of the Assyrians date from the year 2511 of the Babylonian era, coeval with the 2350th after

Menes. Assyria doubtless possessed its own archaic annals (in part, also, strictly historical) prior to Ninus; but, judging by the Greek accounts, which were ostensibly derived from Assyrian sources, it possessed no ancient chronology. Herodotus, who had paid especial attention to Assyrian history, and whose chronological datum for the commencement of the Ninus dynasty is so happily verified, could not ascertain any Assyrian dates prior to Ninus, or any names but that of Belus (Bel), their primeval ancestor, and Hercules, his progenitor.[198]

[198] An acute young scholar, Herr von Gutschmid of Dresden, in an article in the Rheinische Museum, viii. p. 252. seq., has attempted a new mode of completing the dates of the duration of the third dynasty. Like Niebuhr, he starts from the number 1903 of Callisthenes; but, instead of making use of it to determine the first year of the second Median dynasty, he applies it to the third, which he supposes to be Chaldean. According to him it commenced 2234 B. C., and its eleven kings reigned 258 years; for it is necessary to supply that number in order to get to the year 2234. He thinks it an argument in favour of his calculation, that according to it the first Chaldean dynasty of 86 kings began to reign exactly 36,000 years before the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. If this were so, Berosus would have dressed up his whole history in two cyclical numbers—the antediluvian portion in one 432,000 years, i. e. 120 sari, the modern portion down to the natural close of the conquest of Babylon, in one of 36,000 years, or 10 sari. From which the following synopsis results:

Ten Antediluvian Chaldean kings, 432,000 years.

After the Flood:

I.	Dynasty of	86	Chaldean kings -	34,080 years.	
II.	„	8	Medes -	224 „	- 2458 B.C.
III.	„	11	[Chaldeans] -	[258] „	- 2234
IV.	„	49	[Chaldeans] -	458 „	- 1976
V.	„	9	Arabs -	245 „	- 1518
VI.	„	45	[Assyrians] -	526 „	- 1273
VII.	„	[8	Assyrians?] -	122 „	- 747
VIII.	„	6	Chaldeans -	87 „	- 625—538
				36,000	

I think that our explanation of these computations is more satisfactory.

PART VI.

THE AGE OF ZOROASTER, THE BACTRIAN,

AND

THE HISTORICAL NOTICES IN THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE VÊNDIDÂD.

The
TRACK OF THE ARIANS
from the
PRIMEVAL COUNTRY
to
INDIA
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
KHOKAND
Issyk Kul
BOKHARA
AIRYANA-VEDJÔ
Samarkand
SUGHDHA
Highland of Pamer
VARENA
NISÂI
MÔURU
Merv Schah
BAKHDI
Balkh
Teheran
RAGHA
TSCHAKHRA
HARÔYU
(HERAT)
URVÂ
CABOUL
Khyber Pass
HAPTA-HINDU
Indus
KHNENTA
(KANDAHAR)
Ispahan
Yezd
Lake Hamoun
TÊKERETA
(SEISTAN)
MÊTUMAT
HARAQAI-I
(ARACHOSIA)
Bolan Pass
Sutlej
Delhi
PERSIAN GULF
BALOUCHISTAN

A.

BACTRIAN TRADITION AND THE BOOKS OF THE ZEND.

MANY years elapsed after the talented Anquetil made the discovery of the Zendavesta before the researches on that head were established upon a firm foundation. The labours of Benfey, Spiegel, Westergaard, and Haug have been added to those of Burnouf, and we now possess still more extensive investigations by the last three writers into the records of the Zarathustrian religion. The unfortunate notion that Zoroaster's King Gustasp was Darius the son of Hystaspes has been abandoned by men of learning, and it would now be as unscientific to controvert such an idea, as it formerly was to advance it. We have intimated in the First Book that the central point of the old Arian dominion was Bactria. Haug has very recently also maintained that the language of the Zend books is Bactrian. A. W. Schlegel's treatise on the origin of the Hindoos, which appeared first in 1835 in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, and then in his own celebrated "Essais," forms the turning-point for the correct view of the relation between the Indians and the northern parts of Eastern Asia. Prior to this (in 1832), Ritter, in the Introduction to his "Asia," had made a beginning towards connecting the predominant Indian legend about the Sacred Mountain of Meru with the geography of the highlands of Eastern North-Asia, with which we are acquainted.

We take up the subject with the advantage of having two fresh resting-places. In the first place we have additional proof of the correctness of the fact already assumed by Niebuhr:

That in the year 1903 before Alexander, or 2234 B. C., a Zoroastrian king of Media conquered Babylon, and that the dynasty which he founded there reigned more than 200 years.

Bactria however, and not Media, was the original seat of Zoroastrian lore. This, in itself, compels us to inquire whether the date of the great founder of that religion must not be placed much earlier; and, in endeavouring to fix that date, we have obtained important vantage ground.

In the second place, we can now institute our historical inquiry upon a more certain philological basis. Dr. Haug has kindly complied with our suggestion to give us the benefit of his valuable researches, in a new critical translation of the celebrated record which forms the opening to the Vêndidâd, or Code of the Fire-worshippers of Iran. The text and explanation are given in an appendix to this Section.

His labours have confirmed the conviction which we had long entertained:

That the nucleus of this Record dates from the most ancient times, and that its contents are nothing less than the reminiscences of the passage of the old Arians to India—in other words, the succession of the foundation of fourteen kingdoms, the last and most southern of which was the land of the Five Rivers (the Punjab).

During this inquiry we shall answer in turn all the questions not yet settled in respect to the epochs of Aric-Iranian, as well as Ario-Indian, civilisation.

In order to lay before our readers a synoptical view of the results of our investigation of the above document, and to show its importance as regards general history, we have subjoined a sketch prepared by Dr. Petermann in illustration of Haug's Commentary.

B.

THE ZOROASTRIAN TRADITION ABOUT THE PRIMEVAL LAND, AND THE EMIGRATION OF THE ARIANS IN CONSEQUENCE OF A CONVULSION OF NATURE.

Two successful efforts of the critical school have at last established the value, and facilitated the understanding, of the celebrated first Fargard or section of the Vêndidâd. One of these was the study of the Bactrian language (commonly called Zend) and the Zend books, which was commenced by Burnouf and continued by Benfey, Spiegel, and Haug. The other circumstance which facilitated the explanation of the above record was the eminently successful decipherment of the first or Bactro-Medo-Persian cuneiform writing of the Achæmenidæ by Burnouf and Lassen, and latterly by Rawlinson's publication and elucidation of the inscription of Bisutun. Among these inscriptions the most important in its bearing upon that record is the list of the Iranian nations who were subject to Darius in Nakshi-Rustam. Ritter, in 1838[199], materially assisted in explaining the geographical portion of it. Here, howevever, insurmountable difficulties already presented themselves, as to the explanation of the names of individual countries. According to Burnouf we were completely in the dark as to at least three out of the fourteen provinces mentioned between Sogdiana and the Punjab. In the only volume of Spiegel's translation of the Avesta hitherto published, which Brockhaus's edition had made so much more generally accessible, we have the Vêndidâd, which of course begins with the very record in ques-

[199] Erdkunde, viii. 29. seq., 84. seq.

tion. He has been principally guided in the interpretation of it by the Pehlevi version, which, however, is of very little assistance as regards the particular points alluded to above. But it should be generally known that he agrees with Rhode in thinking that it contains the history of the gradual dispersion of the Arians.[200] The first argument in favour of it is that Sogdiana is called the Primeval land. The fact of the Punjab being as unquestionably the most southerly, as Sogdiana is the north-easterly, tends to strengthen this opinion.

Four things, however, are wanting to constitute positive proof. It ought to be shown, first, that the thirteen intervening countries come in their natural geographical succession; secondly, that the turn to the north-westward is explainable upon political grounds; thirdly, that these countries really exhibit marks of Arian conquest and colonisation; and, fourthly, that the favourable and unfavourable qualities assigned to those localities correspond with their actual position. Dr. Haug's treatise supplies the philological and geographical proofs. In referring our readers to that work, it is incumbent upon us to establish the historical importance of the record in question. I start, therefore, upon the assumption that the opening of that sacred code contains as certainly an historical tradition of the Arians, about their wanderings, expeditions, and conquests, as does the 14th chapter of Genesis an historical account of the oldest recorded war between Mesopotamia and Canaan. The historical and geographical tradition therein contained became confused and obscured in early times, but we think we can point out which are the additions and which the original text. The Fargard is divided into two great parts, one comprising the immigration from the eastern and north-eastern primeval country to Bactria, in conse-

[200] Spiegel, Avesta, i. p. 59. seq.

quence of a natural catastrophe and climatic changes; the other, the subsequent extension of the Arian dominion through Eastern Central Asia, which terminated in the occupation of the Punjab.

THE JOURNEYS OF THE IRANIANS FROM THE NORTH-EASTERN PARTS OF ASIA TO INDIA.

PART I.

THE PRIMEVAL LAND (IRAN PROPER, AIRYANA VAÊGÔ), AND THE EXPULSION FROM IT OF THE ARIANS.

THE text of the opening of this record, as restored, removes all doubt as to the following passage containing the genuine description of the climate of the primeval land, Iran Proper:

> "There Angro mainyus (Ahriman), the deadly, created a mighty serpent, and snow,
> the work of Deva—ten months of winter are there, two months of summer."

The following passage, which is irreconcilable with the above:

> "the warm weather lasts seven months,
> and winter five," &c.

was added on by a later editor, traces of whose ignorant tampering are discernible throughout. In fact, the passage is omitted in the Huzûresh, or Pehlevi translation—and Lassen, in his Indian Archæology[201], has given it as his opinion that it is an interpolation.

The Fathers of the Arians (and consequently our own, as we speak the same language) originally, therefore, inhabited aboriginal Iran Proper, the land of Pleasantness, and they only left it in consequence of a

[201] i. 526. note.

convulsion of nature, by which a great alteration in the climate was effected. The expression "Serpent" is obscure. It may possibly mean volcanic eruptions, which can only have played a subordinate part in the great convulsion, although they made a permanent impression.

The country of the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes, therefore, is the most eastern and most northern point from which we have to start, as the land of the sources of the Euphrates formed the primeval seat of the Semitic races. Wherever the Indians may have fixed the dwelling-places of their northern ancestors, the Uttara-kuru, we cannot venture to place the primeval seats of the Arians anywhere but on the slopes of the Belur-Tagh, in the highland of Pamer, between the 40th and 37th degrees of N. latitude, and 86th and 90th degrees of longitude. On this western slope of the Belur-Tagh and the Mustagh (the *Tian-shang*, or Celestial Mountain, of the Chinese) the *Harô-berezaiti* (Albordsh) is likewise to be looked for, which is invoked in the Zendavesta, as the principal mountain and the primeval source of the waters. Lassen has remarked (loc. cit.) that at the present day the old indigenous inhabitants of that district, and generally those of Khasgar, Yarkand, Khoten, Turfan, and the adjacent highlands, are Tadshiks who speak Persian, and who are all agriculturists. The Turcomans either came after them and settled at a later period, or else they are aborigines whom the Arians found there.

When the climate was altered by some vast disturbance of nature, the Arians emigrated; they did not, however, follow the course of the Oxus, or they would have come in the first instance to Bactria, and not to Sogd. Their course, therefore, was more northerly.

As regards its present climate, it is precisely what our record describes it as having been when the change

produced by the above commotion took place: it has only two months of warm weather.

Part II.

THE COURSE OF THE ARIANS AFTER THEIR EXPULSION FROM THE PRIMEVAL COUNTRY, OR THE FOURTEEN LOCALITIES SELECTED BY THEM FOR HABITATIONS FROM SOGDIANA TO INDIA.

If the halting-places of the Arians between Sogdiana and the Sutledj should actually turn out to be mentioned in their natural order, this implies, in an historical sense, nothing less than the conquest of fourteen countries, and the foundation, of as many kingdoms, in the whole of the eastern part of Central Asia and India Proper, in the country of the Indus and its confluents. But it implies not only immigration, but the conquest, the expulsion or subjugation, of the old inhabitants, and the formation of a dominant Arian population. We have direct testimony that the Arians found original inhabitants in India, and the study of their language renders it certain that these were Turanians. The same must be assumed with even greater assurance as regards the intervening countries, the principal abodes of the Turanians (Scythians and Turcomans). But the proof of the Iranians having sojourned there a considerable time is established by the fact of our finding, at the present day, the original stock of the native population to be everywhere Arian. We see, indeed, evidence of the main direction taken by these travellers having been southerly. But on the southern bank of the Caspian is a group, the nucleus of the Arian Media. Of Persia there is as yet no trace, which supplies additional proof of the fallacy of the assumption, that the Vêndidâd, as well as the Zoroastrian doctrines, is of Persian origin.

1. *The Settlement in Sogdiana* (Samarcand).

(II. verse 5.) "As the *second* best of the regions and countries I created . . . . GÂU, in which Sogdiana is situated. . . . . Upon this Ahriman, the Deadly, created pestilence, which is fatal to sheep and small cattle."

Sughdha is pre-eminently *the country:* as being the home of the Fire-worshippers. The name was afterwards spelt Sugdia, and commonly Sogdiana. It is in the 38th degree of latitude, where Marakanda (Samarcand) is situated, a paradisiacal land, fertilised by the river Sogd: so that Sogd and Paradise are used synonymously by later writers.

The course of the Arians was now to the south-west.

2. *The Settlement in Môuru* (Merv, Margiana).

(III. verse 6.) "The *third* best land is the mighty and pious MÔURU (Maru, Marw) . . . . Ahriman created there wars and marauding expeditions."

This is Margiana (from the river Margus), now Marghab (Margus-water), Margush in the cuneiform inscriptions: a fruitful province of Khorassan surrounded by deserts.

3. *The Settlement in Bakhdi* (Bactria).

(IV. verse 7.) "The *fourth* best land was the fortunate BAKHDI, with the lofty banner: here Ahriman created buzzing insects and poisonous plants."

Bakhdi is certainly Bactra (though Burnouf had doubts about it), the land of the Bactrians. The "tall plumes" indicate the Imperial banner (mentioned also by Firdousi), and refer, consequently, to the time when Bactria was the seat of empire. Up to this time nothing is said about Media, though she conquered Babylon in 2234.

4. *The Settlement in Nisaya* (Northern Parthia).

(v. verse 8.) "The *fifth* best land is NISAYA; there Ahriman created unbelief."

This is the *Nisaia* of Ptolemy, famous for its breed of horses, commonly called Nisa, the renowned district of Northern Parthia, bordering on Hyrkania and Margiana. The city of Nisæa is situated on the Upper Oxus. "Unbelief" signifies the apostasy from pure Fire-worship. Here, therefore, the first schism takes place.

5. *The Settlement in Haroyu* (Aria).

(VI. verse 9.) "The *sixth* best land was HAROYU, the pourer out of water; here Ahriman created hail and poverty."

Haroyu is Herat, of which frequent mention is made subsequently, Hariva in the cuneiform inscriptions. Its name has no connexion with the Arians, but comes from the river now called "Heri," abounding in water. The Greek district Aria comprises the larger portion of Segestan, and forms part of Southern Khorassan.

6. *The Settlement in Vêkereta* (Segestan).

(VII. verse 10.) "VÊKERETA, in which Duzhaka is situate; there Ahriman created the Pairika Khnâthaiti."

This country is the home of Rustem. Dushak is the capital of Segestan. To the south-east of it is the land of the Parikani [202], known to the ancients as a part of the Saken country (Sakastene). The greater part of it is now a desert, but it was once cultivated. Here again

[202] Herod. iii. 94. Comp. Ritter, viii. 59. Recent travellers have also found nomadic tribes between Media and Gedrosia, who worshipped the Peris (Fairies), but were fire-worshippers also.

there may be allusion to a schism, which, in that case, would be the *second historical one.*

7. *The Settlement in Urvâ* (Cabul).

(VIII. verse 11.) URVA is proved by Haug to be Cabul, the identity of which was previously unknown.

8. *The Settlement in Khnenta* (Candahar).

(IX. verse 12.) "KHNENTA, where Vehrkâna is situated."

According to Haug, by this country Candahar is to be understood: Vehrkâna cannot be Hyrcania, as generally supposed, but is the city now called Urghândâb, situated in Candahar. The curse of Ahriman was pæderastism, a vice known historically to be un-Arian and Turanian.

9. *The Settlement in Haraqaiti* (Arachosia).

(X. verse 13.) HARAQAITI, denominated the Fortunate; the Harauwatis of the cuneiform inscriptions, the Arachosia of the classics. The work of Ahriman here was the burying of the dead. Another apostasy therefore from the true faith.

10. *The Settlement in Hêtumat* (district of Hilmend).

(XI. verse 14.) "HÊTUMAT, the wealthy, the splendid," is the valley of the present Hilmend, the Etymander of the classics. The mischief inflicted here by Ahriman was the sin of sorcery.

11. *The Settlement in Ragha* (Northern Media).

(XII. verse 16.) "RAGHA with the three races" is doubtless the *Rhagæ* of Strabo and Ptolemy, the greatest city in Media, south of Teheran. This north-eastern

portion of Media includes the passes of the Caspian. The possession of these passes was a protection to the other Arians, and at the same time the key to the whole of Media, and therefore Persia. The district is called also Choana (Qwan).

Ahriman established here unbelief in the spiritual supremacy of Zarathustra — another schism. At all events another portion of ancient Arian history.

12. *The Settlement in* Kakhra (Khorassan).

(XIII. verse 17.) KAKHRA is held by Spiegel and Lassen to be the district of Kihrem mentioned in Firdousi. Haug identifies it with the city of Karkh in Khorassan. The evil done by Ahriman was the burning of the dead. This was therefore an illegal practice, like the sin of the Arachosians, who were so profane as to bury their dead. All this implies the organization of an hierarchical power in Sogd and Bactria, although not a sacerdotal caste.

13. *The Settlement in Varena* (Ghilan).

(XIV. verse 18.) "VARENA with the four corners." Haug has shown it to be Ghilan. The curse of Ahriman was irregular menstruation.

14. *The Settlement in Haptu-Hindu* (Punjab).

(XV. verse 19.) The Land of the SEVEN HINDÚS, that is, the country between the Indus and Sutledj. In the Vedas the country of the Five Rivers is also called the Land of the Seven Sindhús, that is, the seven rivers. The traditional Greek names also are seven. The Indus and the Sutledj are each formed[203] by the

[203] According to this view, it stands thus:

1. Kophen (Kubhâ)	} - -	I. Indus.
2. Indus, Upper		
3. Hydaspes (Bidaspes)	- -	II. Hydaspes.

junction of two arms, which, in their earlier course were independent rivers. But it is not only unnecessary to suppose, as Ritter does, that the country extended as far as the Sarasvati, but such a supposition would be at variance with history. It is now ascertained from the Vedas that the Arians passed the Sutledj at a very late period, and settled in what is now India.

It was not till their fourteenth settlement, after the emigration from the primitive country in the north, that they passed the Hindu-Kush and the Indus. The previous resting-places form an unbroken chain of the primitive abodes of the Arians (the Free or the Land-owners).[204] The last link in those earlier settlements is the land of the Afghans, on the western slope of the Hindu-Kush. Lower down to the westward there is but one settlement necessary to secure their previous possessions, namely, the two districts of Ghilan and Masandaran, with the passes of the Caspian. This settlement more to the north-west (Ghilan and Masandaran) forms therefore also a connected group.

Putting these two groups together, we shall find that there is no one single fertile district in the whole of Eastern Central Asia of which our Arian ancestors did not possess themselves, except Southern Media and all Farsistan or Persis. Now as history exhibits the Arian race spread throughout the whole of Media, but

4. Akesines (Asikni) - - - -	III. Akesines.
5. Hyarotis (Hydraotis, Iravati, Parusni)	IV. Hydraotes.
6. Hyphasis (Vipasa) - - -	V. Hyphasis.
7. Saranges (Upper Satadru = Sutledj, Ghara - - - - -	

[204] Arya, in Indian, means Lord. Its original meaning was equivalent to Upper Noble. The popular name Arja is derived from it, and means, "Descended from a noble." I will only add that Ari in Egyptian means "honourable" (in Nefruari). But *ar* might mean to plough; for the Arians were originally and essentially an agricultural, and therefore a peasant, race.

as dominant only in Persia, it follows that Ghilan and Masandaran formed the nucleus of these ancient possessions which afterwards became so important and celebrated. There cannot therefore be a more unfortunate theory than the one which makes Persia the original seat of Zoroaster and his doctrine.

History, as already remarked, as well as personal observations at the present time, supply unequivocal evidence of the Iranian having been the popular language in all these districts. The names in the document before us, moreover, when compared with Sanskrit, turn out to be regular ancient formations, although, like the old Bactrian formations, as preserved in India, they have been gradually weakened down. We know, lastly, from the inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ, several of them which have become historical and geographical designations at a later period.

It is impossible, nevertheless, under these circumstances, to consider the Vêndidâd as a modern fiction, or as a fragment of some geographical compendium. The fact of their having suddenly retraced their steps from the southward, and formed a connected north-eastern group about the Caspian Sea, would be inexplicable, supposing it to be a fiction. The awkwardness of the concluding verse being tacked on to it is also evidence of the genuineness of the one with which it originally concluded.

We may therefore venture with the greater confidence now to repeat what was stated at the outset, that the document before us is an ancient record of the passage of the Iranians from the primeval land to India. It has, however, suffered by the interpolations of prosaic geographical remarks, some of which even are absurd, and which may without any difficulty be eliminated from the original text.

The more closely we examine it, the more unreasonable it seems to doubt its historical signification. What can be the meaning of the phrase, Ormuzd created one

district after another, and Ahriman corrupted them, but that the God of the Iranians gradually directed them towards these spots, which, as contrasted with the deserts and steppes of Turan, might be termed Blessed; but which, nevertheless, were not without drawbacks and disadvantages, unlike their sacred home, the pure primeval country? It is true that the later editor treated it as a compendium of geographical information, and as he found that many places were left out, in palpable violation of the strictly geographical mode of treating all the preceding genuine data, he added these vapid words: "I created as the sixteenth best of the districts and lands, I who am Ahura Mazda, the dwellers on the borders of the sea, who have no ramparts. Whereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Deadly, created snow, the work of Dêva, and earthquakes, which make the land to tremble. There are also other countries and lands, which are fortunate, renowned, lofty, prosperous, and brilliant."

So then this agricultural and intellectual race, who have been uninterruptedly masters of the world since the date of the Persian dominion, and the mightiest engine of civilisation, composed a record of their wanderings and their dispersion as a reminiscence of the early conquest of Asia as far as the land of the Indus—a record which has been preserved for us by the followers of the founders of the religion of the Arian East, and one worthy of taking its place by the side of the biblical accounts of the journeyings of the Abrahamitic patriarchs, and which stands in the first rank in its bearings on the history of the world.

After having thus intimated the grounds of our belief in the genuineness and importance of this tradition, we return once more to the main object of our inquiry—the starting-point, or primeval land, and the vast convulsion of nature which occasioned the above migrations.

After they arrive at their Second happy abode unfavourable circumstances are mentioned, some of them

of natural origin, which, even if unaccompanied by great climatic changes, might have induced these energetic Arian races to emigrate, and some of them seeming to imply their having retreated before the attacks of the Turanian hordes.

The description would indicate the high-land of Northern Asia, the land of the Altai and the Chinese Himalaya. There is no question as to the historical character of this tradition. From what other source could it have emanated? It would simply have been mentioned that their ancestors went in quest of a warmer climate. The country is never described as one of poetical ideal perfection. There is besides, as we shall shortly see, the corroboration which this tradition receives from the most ancient traditions of India. Must not, therefore, the biblical tradition represent the tradition of the Western aborigines (the Hamites and Shemites), the Turanian one that of the Eastern tribes in the primeval land? One is the complement of the other. The vast climatic change which took place in the northern countries is principally, though not exclusively, attributed in the Bible to the action of water. In the other, the sudden freezing up of the rivers is the cause assigned, that is, upheavings and alterations in the lower stratum. Ten months of winter is the climate of Western Thibet, Pamer, and Belur, at the present day, and corresponds with that of the Altai country, and the district east of the Kuenlung, the Paradise of the Chinese. In short, effects are described, not causes—indeed, isolated facts out of a great whole, one only out of a variety of phenomena occasioned by this historical convulsion of the globe.

From all that we are able to ascertain about the history of the earth, it is obvious that this would include a vast flood, like that of Noah, the waters rising up from below, accompanied by great depressions in the soil, and the formation of inland seas like the Caspian.

But as will appear in the following section, there is evidence in the Vedas, however slight, that the Flood does form a part of the reminiscences of Iran.

C.

THE AGE OF ZOROASTER VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE ZENDISH AND GREEK ACCOUNTS.

Philological and historical criticism has long ago set at rest the unfortunate theory that Vîstâspa, who is mentioned in the books of the Zendavesta as the royal patron of Zarathustra, was the father of King Darius Hystaspes, and we will not pander to the prevailing supineness by giving it a fresh contradiction.

The name of Zoroaster is already known to us as a royal name, from the Armenian edition of Eusebius in the Chaldean lists of Berosus. It is the name of the Median conqueror of Babylon, who vanquished the realm and city of the Chaldees, and founded the second Babylonian dynasty in the year 2234 B.C.

The king can only have received this title from being a follower of Zarathustra, and professing the religion of the Prophet: the title of "greatest minstrel" is in character with that of the founder of a religion, not with that of a conqueror.

But he was preceded by a series of 84 Median kings. Media again was not the historical birthplace of the religion and language of the Zend books, but Bactria, the seat of a primeval kingdom.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, the date of Zoroaster, as fixed by Aristotle, cannot be said to be so very irrational. He and Eudoxus, according to Pliny (N. H. xxx. 2.), place him 6000 years before

the death of Plato; Hermippus, 5000 before the Trojan war. We may consider the latter date as derived from the same source with that of the above two writers, who were men of the greatest learning, and the keenest investigators of any age. Hermippus himself had translated the writings of Zoroaster. As Pliny introduces his name without anything to identify him, we must suppose him to mean the so-called Peripatetic, the pupil of Callimachus, one of the most learned Alexandrians, and not, as Preller supposes, Hermippus of Berytus, who seems to have written upon astrological topics. The latter indeed could not well be mentioned by Pliny, as he was a pupil of Philo, the grammarian of Byblus, and lived therefore in the reign of Hadrian, or at the earliest in that of Trajan. Why should a date which has the authority of such men as these be treated with contempt, more especially as the personality of the Prophet is not under consideration, but simply the foundation of the religion connected with him? The two dates above mentioned essentially agree — for 6000 years before the death of Plato (Ol. 108, 1; B. C. 348) brings us to about 6350, and the date of Hermippus is 6300, according to the common Alexandrian chronology of the Trojan war, 407 or 408 before Ol. 1=1184 B. C.

At the present stage of the inquiry the question whether this date is set too high cannot be answered in either the negative or affirmative. All that we know from Berosus is that another dynasty of 84 kings reigned in Media before that of Zoroaster, whose names were given by Polyhistor. In the mean time we do not even know whether he conquered Media (that is, from Bactria), as he afterwards captured Babylon, or whether his family was Median. The determination of the age of the founder of the religion depends upon the answer to the following question, Whether the appearance of Zoroaster in Bactria is to be placed before or after the

emigration from Bactria? In the latter case the only rational explanation would be, that a schism broke out in the country of the Indus, in consequence of which the adherents of the old Fire-worship (the devotees of Agni) retraced their steps.

The old songs of the Zendavesta[205] described him as follows: "He it is who offers words in songs, who promotes purity by his praise: he, upon whom Ahura Mazda conferred the good gift of eloquence — he was the first in the world who made the tongue subservient to the understanding: he is the only one who understood the doctrines of the supreme God, and was in a condition to transmit them." The king, Kava Vîstâspa, patronised him. He was a priest of the Fire-worshippers, and found the doctrine of a duality of good and evil already in vogue. Nevertheless, the name of Ahriman does not occur as yet in the oldest records. What is understood by evil is evil thought (akô manô), or falsehood, and this is contrasted with good thought, which is identical with the good principle. An absolute personification of the good principle is hardly to be found in the songs of Zarathustra. Zoroaster opposed the faith in the Gods of Nature, as the highest beings. He found in existence the faith in good spirits, Ahuras, the Living, who are also called the "Dispensers of Wisdom" (Mazdas). At their head he placed the One holy God, "Ahura Mazda," Ormuzd, "the highest Spirit." He is the Lord of all the Powers of Nature, Creator and Sustainer of all Existence. He rules over earthly and spiritual life—by which latter Zoroaster understands a better state on this earth. His great axiom, so full of intelligence, was that—"the highest Trinity (drigu) is Thought, Word, Deed." These three he considers to be pure in the pure, evil in the evil: from the thought emanates the word, from the two together the deed.

[205] Haug, Deutsch-Morgenländ. Zeit. ix. p. 685.

APPENDIX.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE VÊNDIDÂD,

Translated and explained by Dr. HAUG, Private Teacher in the University of Bonn.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE AGE AND CHARACTER OF THE RECORD.

THE Vêndidâd, the code of the present Parsees, commences with a passage, the purport of which is geographical. Its great importance has already led several persons to attempt an explanation of it, among whom Burnouf, Lassen, Ritter, and Spiegel are the most conspicuous. A great portion of it, nevertheless, still remains unexplained; first, because the study of the Zendavesta is still in its infancy, and, secondly, because this particular chapter presents peculiar difficulties. These consist, not merely in identifying the names of countries, but more especially in explaining the words which occur but seldom (some of them but once, and that in the same chapter), and which are used to designate the different creations of Ahriman for the purpose of counteracting the good principle. An attempt will here be made to give a new explanation of the passage, in so far as compatible with my present knowledge of the Zendavesta, which is still incomplete.

At first sight, this opening Fargard does not seem to have any close connexion with the rest of the Vêndidâd. But upon a more careful investigation of the purpose for which the last digest of the Zendavesta was made, the introduction will be found to harmonize perfectly with the rest. An enumeration is here made simply of Arian countries, and almost exclusively of those in which the faith of Zarathustra was more or less predominant. The editor meant to indicate the extent of country in which the law of Mazdayasna was in force. But there is another question to be considered—whether this passage formed

part of the ancient code which the editor of the present Vêndidâd found in existence, or whether he composed it himself or inserted it out of some other work. The Vêndidâd has very clearly undergone various processes of composition, of which three main steps may be distinguished: Avesta, Zend, and Pâzend.[206] The Avesta must be considered as the original groundwork of the code, which, although of very ancient date, is still almost all of it post-Zarathustrian, as will appear hereafter. In course of time several explanations and interpretations of the laws sprang up, which, as they emanated from competent authority, gradually acquired as much weight as the original, the traditional divine revelation, and were incorporated with it. This is the Zend, or the explanation. But in these explanations there were many things unintelligible to after generations, which gave rise to other further explanations known by the name of Pâzend. After these brief notices I resume the consideration of the questions immediately before us. The first Fargard was probably incorporated into the general text by the second or third commentator, the author either of the Zend or of the Pâzend. For the large works composed on a regular system, such as the groundwork of the Vêndidâd seems to have been, were apparently products of the second or third period — a phenomenon which may be traced not only in the history of the Zarathustrian literature but of the Vedic also.[207] But this chapter was certainly not composed by a later editor, as is evident from the *ancient* supplements that were made to it, but it was borrowed from some old work of the Avesta period, perhaps an early Iranian history (as was also the second chapter of the Vêndidâd).

If we examine this chapter purely in reference to its contents, we may distinguish an original document and several supplements, added for the purpose of explanation or correction. The original, after a short preliminary remark that

[206] Avesta means *Direct higher Knowledge, Divine Revelation;* Zend means the *explanation* of this; and Pâzend the Supplements to the Zend, or further explanation of the Zend doctrine. All the three steps exist in the present Zend-Avesta, or more properly Avesta-Zend. See upon this subject my treatise on these names in the Morgenländ. Zeitsch. vol. ix. p. 694. seq.

[207] I postpone to a future occasion the more detailed and complete exposition of these views.

Ahura Mazda converted the inhospitable and uninhabitable world, which before was a sort of desert, into a place fit for habitation, briefly enumerates sixteen *best* countries or Paradises, created by Ahura Mazda, each of which was specially distinguished by some noteworthy property. Certain counter-creations of Angrô Mainyus were then recorded in special contrast to these, but without any further description of any of them. The additions have generally been considered as mere glosses, and the argument used in support of this view is that in the Huzûresh-translation[208] several of them are omitted. But judging even from the etymological peculiarities, they must be older than the last version of the Vêndidâd, or at least than the last collection. At the very outset several difficulties present themselves. The expression, "nôit kudat shâitîm," required a fuller explanation; and it seemed remarkable that, while in the introductory sentence the creations of Ahura Mazda are mentioned, not a word is said of the counter-creations of Angrô Mainyus. An attempt was made to get over these difficulties by means of a supplement (verse 2.), but this, unfortunately, was not more intelligible than the introduction. The words of the original, ver. 4., "*two months of summer, ten of winter*," did not appear to the later interpreter as suitable to the first Land of Blessing, the real paradise. They therefore altered them into *seven months of summer and five of winter*, which, however, was in direct contradiction to the words of the original, a thing of frequent occurrence in the Vêndidâd, and a manifest indication of its being a later modification of expressions which either appeared out of character or too strong. Compare Vênd. 3, 135. and 137 seq.; 6, 93—100. and 5, 1—49.; 6, 102—106.; 13, 80—96. and 97—105. of Spiegel. But this change had not yet banished the severe cold from Paradise. Its existence must be admitted, and attempts were made to describe its effects in more detail, for the following words, "cold as to water," to the end of this verse, are additions of the Zendist. In the first place, these details are out of character altogether with the original; and secondly, the words sareta âpô do not dovetail into the dva hâmina of

[208] This is the name of the translation of the Zend-Avesta into Pehlvi (a mixture of Semitic and Iranian), in the time of the Sassanidæ. See my treatise on the Pehlvi language and Bundehesh, Göttingen, 1854, p. 5.

the original, but into *panca* zajana of the supplement. At verse 8., we find after the fifth Place of Blessing, NISÂI, the remark, "which" (lies) "between Môuru and Bâkhdhî." This can hardly belong to the original; as there was no predicate to NISÂI, it seemed necessary to make one. The reason why the Zendist, quite contrary to the general rule, thought it necessary to add a description of the situation of the place may be the frequent recurrence of the name of NISA, so well known to us in the Greek writers. Under no circumstances can any great weight be attached to it. The whole fifteenth verse is a palpable addition of the Zendist. The sins of sorcery, mentioned in ver. 14. as a creation of *Angrô* Mainyus, required further comment. The concluding verse (21.) is also probably the addition of a later editor, in whose time the Arian territories were perhaps considerably extended.

After these remarks it may be assumed as tolerably certain that the additions are of *much* more modern date than the original. They bear evident marks of an age in which the old traditions had already ceased to be quite intelligible, and required various explanations. The mode in which this was done is a clear proof that the expositors themselves had not always very correct notions upon these subjects.

As regards the *original text*, it is unquestionably of great antiquity, and one of the oldest compositions of which the present Vêndidâd consists. But in its present shape, even after eliminating the later additions, it is decidedly after the time of Zarathustra, and posterior to the so-called Gâthâs, or songs, in which the greater part of the genuine maxims and doctrines of Zarathustra have been transmitted. The principal ground for this opinion is that Parseeism may be traced in it in a much more developed and systematic shape than in the songs of Zarathustra. While the latter never employ the name of *Angrô* Mainyus to represent the evil principle[209], in the former the evil genius is always introduced by that name, which has become already his proper name, on every occasion when in opposition to the good spirit, Ahura Mazda, he produces evil to counteract the good creations. In the Gâthâs there is no such contrast as this, and one too carried out with the utmost minutiæ, especially in physical matters. They simply exhibit the general antagonism

[209] Only in Jas. 45., 2., is an "*Angra*" (black) put in opposition to Mainyus *Spanyâo*, the whiter or more holy spirit.

between good and evil thoughts, words and deeds, truth and falsehood, although this is very sharply marked. Indeed the opposition between the two spirits is so far worked out even in the first Fargard, that particular words are used to express the especial creative power of each of them. The creation of the good spirit is called *fra-thwerez* (properly, to fabricate, the Vedic *tvaksh*, from which comes the name of the artificer of the Gods, TVASHTAR, Greek τεύχ-ω), that of the evil spirit *fra-kerent* (properly, to cut, to carve). This is very strong evidence of its post-Zarathustrian origin, as no such distinctions are found in the Gâthâs; *dâ* is used for the creation of both spirits, *urvâta* to express both their doctrines, &c. &c. In the later writings, on the contrary, these distinctions are observed throughout. For instance, *mrû*, to speak, is always used for the good spirit, and in the same signification *du* only for the bad. The head of the bad spirits is called KAMEREDHA, that of the good, VAGHDHANA.

Though after this evidence no doubt can be entertained that the chapter belongs to the post-Zarathustrian period, this by no means implies that it is generally of modern origin. The whole tenor of it would lead us, on the contrary, to conclude that it must be very old. A certain historical date, however, can hardly be given to it. From the names of the countries mentioned, it is clear that when it was composed not only geographical information was very restricted, but also that the actual Arian territory was of much more limited extent than we find it afterwards. At all events it is older than the foundation of the Median empire by Deioces (708 B. C.), inasmuch as several important provinces of Media, such as Atropatene (Aderbeigân), and several important cities, such as Egbatana (Hagmatana in the first cuneiform writing), are not mentioned. This would not have been the case here, where Arian civilisation and Zarathustric faith were widely spread, had Media then exercised that influence over Iran which she attained under Deioces. At the date of its composition the Arians probably had only just begun to spread through the provinces of Media. Further proof of its high antiquity will be found in the predicate of Bactra, *erédhwô-drafsha*, with the tall banner. This would seem to refer to a time when Bactra was the centre of an empire, for it can only mean the imperial banner, the *Kâvyâni-direfsh*, or banner of the Kaja-

nians, which is mentioned in the Shâhnâmeh. But the power of Bactria had been broken down by the Assyrians long before Deioces (about 1200 B. C.). We may therefore place the date of the original at a period anterior to the Assyrian conquest.

If, however, we look a little more closely into the scanty notices in this connexion, we shall find that the geography of the Zendavesta was not limited to the countries mentioned in this chapter. The whole globe used to be divided into *seven* Karshvares (i. e. cultivable districts), the names of which frequently recur in the Jeshts (It. 10, 15. 67. 133. they are called Areza, *S*ava, Fradadhafshu, Vîdadhafshu, Vouru-baresti, Vouru-*g*aresti, and Qaniratha). This account must be very ancient, inasmuch as the *seven-surfaced* or *seven-portioned* earth is mentioned already in the Gâthâs, and in fact in the first (Jas. 32, 3.). In Jas. 29, 7. mention is also made of the *earth* and its *six regions*. (gavôi khshvîdeméa urushaêibjo).[210] The circumstance of this old mythological division of the earth being omitted in this chapter is an argument in favour of the historical character of the original, and its great value for ancient Arian history. The two passages which contain the best evidence of the geographical knowledge of the compilers of the Zendavesta are in Jeshts 131, 143. 144., where mention is made of the countries of the Airya (Iranians), the Tûirya (Turanians), the *S*airimâ (Sarmatians), the *S*âini (probably the Sanni of the classics, to the west of the Caspian, or perhaps the Sakini?), and of the Dâhi (the Daher or Daer of the classics, in Hyrcania). The first three of these were the best known and the most important. We find in the Legend of Shâhnâmeh (i. p. 58. ed. Macan Turner), the three sons of Ferêdûn, Ire*g*, Tûr, and Ṣelm, mentioned as their patriarchs, and among them the whole earth was divided. The nature of this division, by which Selm received the western countries (the Sarmatian district), Tûr, Turkestan and China, and Ire*g*, Iran, as their respective portions, looks like an ancient geographical arrangement. — If this passage be supposed to contain a list of all the nations known to the Zendavesta, we find in one place (It. 10, 14.) hardly any which do not belong to Iran. They are Aiskata, Pouruta, Môuru, Harôyû, Gâu, *S*ughdha, and Qâirizem. Of these seven, four are mentioned

[210] See my note on these passages, The Gâthâs, or Songs of Zarathustra, i. p 85. 162.

in the first Fargard, the other three it is very difficult to identify. Qâirizem is doubtless the Uwarazmiya of the cuneiform inscriptions (Chowaresmia) at the east of the Caspian; Aiskata is perhaps the district of Astabene, with its capital Asaak (in Hyrcania); Pouruta is probably only another form of Parthuwa in the cuneiform inscriptions (Parthyene), which may be explained by the phonetic laws of the Bactrian language.

II. Geographical Explanation of the Countries enumerated.

We now proceed to analyse the countries mentioned in this list. The earth is considered as having been at first sterile, with the exception of the original Iranian country, Airyanem Vâe*g*ô, that is, Iran pure and simple. It is the first mentioned of the sixteen here enumerated. The only curse upon it seems to have been the ten months of winter, which implies that it was a very northern or very elevated region. It is impossible in the absence of further particulars to identify it more accurately. It seems, however, indisputable, that the Iranians came from an extraordinarily cold district. The second Fargard of the Vêndidâd leads to the same conclusion, where the years of Jima are reckoned by winters, and the curse of winter is portrayed in the strongest colouring. After the Airyanem Vâe*g*ô come a series of countries which can be ascertained *historically*. In the enumeration of these as far as the eleventh Land of Blessing we observe that the direction is from north-east to south-west, and we are in some degree authorised in considering them to be the districts first peopled by the Iranian races, which is also in exact accordance with the Iranian legend. But at the twelfth Land of Blessing the direction is altered. Some countries in the north-west, and others in the south-west are mentioned, possibly in the order in which Iranian civilisation was introduced.

The Second best country is Gâu, with the district of Sughdha. Gâu is not, as Burnouf thought, a *nomen appellativum* here in the sense of *earth*. The first objection to this is its frequent repetition in another list of the names of countries (It. 10, 14.): and the second, a comparison with verses 10 and 11., where Duzhakô-shayanem and Vehrkânô-shayanem are respectively preceded by a real proper name. Its literal meaning certainly is earth, or specifically land, like the Ger-

man Gau, Armenian Gaw-ar, land, province. This use of a general expression for a particular country reminds us of the use of *urbs* for *Roma*, and shows that the Gâu in question must have been a metropolis of Iranian civilisation. The site of it is clear from the word in apposition, *S*ughdô-shayanem. *S*ughdha is evidently Sogd, Sogdiana, the Fire-land, that is, the land where the sacred fires were especially lighted. Its curse, like that of the original country, was of a physical nature, a murrain in the cattle.—The Third Land of Blessing is Môuru, with the predicate *strong* and *true*, the former of which seems to allude to its physical strength, the latter to its piety and morality. Its curse was war and marauding expeditions, meaning probably the razzias which the warlike inhabitants made against each other and their enemies. The country itself is the present Merv, the Margiana of the classics, Margush of the inscriptions, to the south-west of Sogdiana, the place of wild animals, especially birds, as its name implies. This appellation will not surprise us when we recollect that, according to the Vêndidâd, birds, as well as trees, water, and fire, necessarily formed part of a good Ahura-Mazdian country.—The Fourth Land of Blessing after Môurû is Bâkhdhî, the fortunate spot, which we must necessarily identify with the modern Balkh, the Bactra of the cuneiform writings and the classics. The difference in the terminations *tra* and *dhî* is easily accounted for by supposing Bâkhdhî to mean principally the capital of Bactria, Bactra the country itself. It is even possible that the one was in vogue in Eastern Iran, the other in Western Iran or Media. As far as the sense goes it makes but little difference, Bak-tra is the most fortunate, Bâkh-dhî, the fortunate spot. The predicate *s*rîra, that is, fortunate, exactly suits the name; the other adjective has been already mentioned. The curses inflicted on this fortunate spot by the evil spirit, consisted of swarms of insects and poisonous plants.—The Fifth country is Nisâi or Nisâya according to the cuneiform inscriptions, the Nisæa of the classics. As they mention more than one Nisæa (I only allude to the Nisæa north-east of Parthyene, and the celebrated Campi Nisæi in Media) it is somewhat difficult to specify very accurately the locality here alluded to. The text itself would appear indeed to help us out of the difficulty by the accompanying words, "which lies between Môuru and Bâkhdhî," but in reality they create the difficulty. Classic writers were unacquainted with any Nisæa

situated between these two countries: the Nisæa which was so celebrated for its breed of horses, the present Nishapur, the province of Nisâya in the cuneiform inscriptions, lay to the north-east of Parthyene, to the west of Aria (Herat). It would seem that this is the Land of Blessing here alluded to, from the great reputation for beauty and fertility which it has enjoyed down to the present time. The name properly signifies "settlement," for which reason it is one of so frequent occurrence. The curse of this beautiful region was the unbelief of its inhabitants.—After Nisâya comes Harôyû, the Sixth country, the Stream-Land, with which its predicate, Dispenser of water, accords exactly. It is the Aria of the Greeks, Hariwa of the cuneiform inscriptions, the present Herat. Its curse is hail-storms, which produce poverty.

The Seventh country is Vaêkereta, which signifies the Disfigured, or waste, with the Duzhaka, or Hell-district. At first sight it seems a singular title for a good land created by Ahura Mazda, but it has a meaning when we think of an arid desert country, interspersed here and there with patches of fruitful soil. The Huzûresh translation makes it Cabul; but the names are unsuited to this beautiful district. The name "Duzhaka" suggested to the modern commentators, Burnouf and Lassen, Se*g*estan (the land of the Saki), the capital of which is called Dushak. This is the right interpretation, for the nature of Se*g*estan (the Drangiana of the classics) is quite in character with this etymology, consisting as it does of parched sandy deserts. A perfectly conclusive argument, and one which has never yet been adduced, is the notice of the Pairika being attached to the hero Keresâspa. This Keresâ*s*pa (the owner of *lean horses*) is the Gershasp of the Parsees, who according to the Shâhnâmeh lived in the time of Feredûn, and passed for being the ancestor of Nerîman, *S*âm, Zâl, and Rustem, who governed Se*g*estan as vassals of the crown of Iran (see Shâhnâmeh, ed. Turner, iv. p. 2333.). The name of Keresâ*s*pa figures in the Jeshts, not alone however, but in connexion either with Naremanâo (Nerîman) (It. 5, 37. 15, 27. 19, 38—44.) or with *S*âma (It. 13, 61. 136.); it is only in the brief notice in It. 23, 3. that these are omitted. Though it has not the form of a patronymic, yet, from its being applied to two individuals of the same race, it cannot belong to any given person, but must be a family name. As its meaning is "owner of lean horses," it would

apparently refer to some residence of this family, where the pasturage was not very good, which again is in accordance with the nature of Segestan. In It. 5, 37. Naremanâo Keresâspa begs of the Ardvî sûrâ anâhitâ (the spotless anâhitâ, celestial primitive water, the Anahit of the Persians[211]), at the foot of the valley (vari, a valley with a river) Pisanô, 100 male horses, 1000 cows, and 10,000 neat cattle. At 15, 27. he offers a prayer to Vaju, to give him strength to slay the Hitâspa (who keeps the horses *confined*). The fullest details about this hero will be found It. 19, 38--44. He is the third possessor of the "lustre" (qarenô) which King Jima enjoyed so long. "He was the mightiest among the mighty, until a woman who did not profess the Zarathustrian religion embraced him. This powerful woman followed Keresâspâ with extended feet, sleepless, and continually watching him. He slew the serpent Sravara, who swallowed up men and horses. He slew Gandarewa with the golden heel, the Hitâspa, the Arezô-shamana, who was embraced by the woman (verse 42.), the Snâvidhaka, who undertook, as soon as he was grown up, to make the earth his wheel and the heaven his chariot, to carry away the white spirit (Ahura Mazda) from heaven, and the black spirit (Angrô Mainyus) from hell, and yoke them both to his car."[212] The woman who attached herself to the hero Naremanâo Keresâspa can be no other than the Pairika mentioned in this verse. Though in the Vêndidâd (comp. 19. 5. W.) she appears as a creation of Ahriman, it would seem from the passage in the 19th Jesht just cited (comp. also specially ver. 42.) that, subsequently at least, this Pairika no longer passed for a female monster, but was considered the protecting Genius of heroes, who were indebted to her for their supernatural strength. It is remarkable that at the present day in the valley of Pishin (the Pisanô of the Keresâspâ legend) the stories about the beautiful Peris, and the belief in them, still exist (see Ritter's Geography of Asia, vol. viii. p. 60.). As this valley lies to the east of the river Hilmend in the vicinity of Segestan, this is an additional reason for thinking Vaêkereta and Segestan to be identical, which latter must have extended

[211] Upon this subject see Windischmann's admirable article on the Persian Anahita or Anaitis, in the Transactions of the Philological (1) Class of the R. Bavarian Academy of Sciences, vol. viii. part i.

[212] We have here the portrait of an overbearing giant.

much further to the eastward than it now does, during the ancient rule of the Kereṣâspa dynasty.

The Eighth Land of Blessing is Urvâ, the Land of Plains. Up to this time we have been at a loss how to identify it. The Huzûresh translation on this occasion, as is generally the case indeed when there is any great difficulty, leaves us in the lurch, for it only transcribes the name. As the districts mentioned immediately before and after are all in the south-eastern part of Irân, we are very naturally led to look for Urvâ in this locality. The epithet, abounding in rivers or streams, implies a fertile district; its very name, "breadth," would signify a wide, open, champaign country. All this is suitable to Cabul, which lies to the north-east of the seventh Place of Blessing. It would be, moreover, a singular circumstance that the Iranian ethnology, in a region so fruitful and so early brought under cultivation, should be unknown, while several adjoining countries are specially mentioned. All this, however, would not be sufficient to establish the identity of Urvâ and Cabul, were it not that Urvâ can be worked out from the name of Cabul itself, which is one of very ancient date. The word Cabul consists of *ka* and *bul*, just as Zâbul consists of *za* and *bul* (the ancient name of the whole or part of Seǵestan in the Shâhnâmeh). *Bul* is a mutilated form of *urvâ*[213], which will be more easily understood by considering the form *vôuru*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *uru*, wide, and which occurs in Zend with *uru* and *urva*. *Kâh* in Modern Persian signifies grass, hay, so that the entire word means "the grassy plain," "champaign, pasture-land"[214], while Zâbul signifies "the plain of men," "the land of men or heroes" (*zah* in Modern Persian signifying "male offset").

The Ninth land is Kneṇta, with the district of Behrkâna. Burnouf supposed this to be the *nomen appellativum*, but according to the general character of the whole catalogue this idea is incapable of proof. It must be the name of a country situated in the south-east of Iran. But Vehrkânô-shayanem

[213] The word bul-ghâk, loud violent noise, bûl-kâmeh, strong desire, &c., prove that "uru," "vôuru," really become *bul* in Modern Persian. In the Zendic compounds it is exactly vôuru, wide.

[214] In the Veda, urvara means fruitful field, in Zend, a tree: it is at all events connected with uru. The meaning in Zend is the derivative one (comp. Mod. Pers. darcht, tree, with the Arm. tarchd, garden). The original meaning of urvâ probably was plain, field.

seems to militate against this. Vehrkâno is phonetically precisely the same word as Hyrcania, which is to the south-east of the Caspian, so that we are carried all of a sudden to a totally different part of Iran. But we know no other Hyrcania to the south. Many forcible arguments may be advanced, nevertheless, against this now generally received opinion. First, It is in itself a singular thing that the Ninth country should be found in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, while the two immediately succeeding (ten and eleven) are again in the south-eastern part of Iran. Secondly, Vehrkâna cannot in this instance signify a country, but must either be a city or a river in Khne*n*ta. This is perfectly clear when we compare verse 5. Gâum *S*ughdhô-shayanem, and verse 10. Vaêkeretem Duzhakô-shayanem, with Khne*n*tem Vehrkâno-shayanem, in both which cases Gâu and Vaêkereta are the countries, *S*ughda and Duzhaka cities within them (see on this subject note to verse 5.). Thirdly, We know of no Khne*n*ta in Hyrcania. We remain in the south-east in the vicinity of Cabul. To the south-west of the meadows of Cabul, and to the east of the sandy deserts of Se*g*estan, stretch the beautiful plains of Candahar, watered by the river Urghandab. Here we must look for Khne*n*ta; indeed it is contained in the name of Candahar itself. The word Kandahar must be in the first place divided into Kanda and har. Kand comes from the Modern Persian, *khanden*, *khandiden*, to laugh, and then is used metaphorically for, to bloom, flourish; har=*hâr*, string, string of pearls, pearl. The whole word consequently signifies either "chaplet of flowers" or "string of pearls," which is a thoroughly Oriental mode of expressing a charming country. In the Darius inscriptions it is spelled Ga*n*dâra, a contraction from Gandahâra, the *kh* being softened down to *g*; whereas in the present name, Kandahar, the original form, Khne*n*to-hâra, is still more faithfully retained. There is no difficulty again in identifying *Vehrkâna* as the name of the river Urghând-âb, as Ritter spells it (Geography of Asia, vol. viii. p. 160.). In Modern Persian it becomes Gurgân. The initial *g*-sound seems lost, which is easily accounted for in long words; the *d* is inorganic, as frequently occurs with dentals; and *âb* means water, so that the word signifies "the river of the wolf-country" or wolf-ravine (the upper course of which is in the mountains). There is, however, in Kandahar a city called Urghândab. The evil created here by the bad spirit was unnatural passion.

The Tenth land is the Happy Haraqaiti, abounding in water, in which the Arachosia of the classics and the Harauwatish of the cuneiform inscriptions, to the southward of Cabul, may be identified. The curse of Ahriman there was the burial of the dead, which is strictly prohibited in the Zendavesta, as being the greatest desecration of the sacred earth.

After Haraqaiti comes the Eleventh land, the luxurious brilliant Haêtumat, by which is to be understood the valley of the present river Hilmend, to the west of Arachosia. It means the "bridged-over," because it had a number of bridges, the building of which is mentioned in the Zendavesta as a most meritorious act. The prevailing evils here were the Jâtu sins (see note to verse 15.).

A change of direction now ensues. Almost all the countries in the south of Iran are enumerated. The next in succession are the few districts in the north-west, which come within the sphere of the old Arian civilisation. The Twelfth land is called Raghâ, with the predicate of thrizantu, i. e. "having three races." We find it mentioned again in the Zendavesta, and indeed in Jas. 19, 18., where there is the following remarkable passage:—"What sort of lords (ratavô) are these? The lord of a nmâna (family, household), the lord of a vis (district), the lord of a zantu (race, tribe), the lord of a country, the fifth (lord) Zarathustra. Among the countries which (profess) religions different from that of Zarathustra, the Zarathustrian Raghâ has four lords. What are these lords? The lord of the family, of the district, of the tribe, and the fourth Zarathustra." It is clear from this, that the inhabitants of Raghâ did not recognise Zarathustra as their supreme lord, as was the case with the other Iranians (certainly, the eastern and southern), but that they considered him as a being inferior to the real lord of the soil, though superior to the heads of tribes. This is the reason why they are mentioned as possessing "other than the Zarathustrian faith," i. e. the faith mentioned in the present Zendavesta, one specifically represented by the Zend doctrine. They were looked upon therefore as renegades, a sort of Shiites. This is a clue to the meaning of the curse of Ahriman, Raghâ's *doubt* as to the Supreme, or the spiritual supremacy of Zarathustra. Raghâ is undoubtedly the Rhagæ of the classics in Media, and the Rei of the present day in the vicinity of Tehe-rân, which was so celebrated in ancient times.

The Thirteenth land is Kakhra, with the same predicates,

strong and *pious*, which we find given to Môuru. Spiegel suggests the district of *K*ihrem mentioned in Firdousi, but we do not know where this was. Turner's glossary to the Shâhnâmeh (iv. p. 2313.) merely describes "Tshihrem as a place in Iran." Buller's lexicon, *voce k*arkh (the circle, from the Zendish *k*akhra, the wheel), states that it is also the name of a city in Khorassan. This seems to me more appropriate than an entirely indefinite place like Tshihrem. To judge by the predicate, ashava (true, pious, religious), the inhabitants of *K*akhra were faithful and zealous adherents of Zarathustra. It is a striking circumstance, therefore, that the practice of burning the dead, though only partially, should have existed there. The epithets of "pious" and "religious" probably refer to their recognition of the spiritual supremacy of Zarathustra, as contrasted with the inhabitants of Raghâ.

With respect to the Fourteenth country, Varena, various opinions have been advanced (see Spiegel, translation of the Vêndidâd, p. 66. note 1.). But inasmuch as the few clues which are to be found in the Zendavesta itself have not been systematically followed up, it was not likely that the right one should have been hit upon. Varena is the birthplace of the hero Thraêtaona, the Ferêdûn of the Iranian legend (see also It. 15, 23. 17, 33.). His act of heroism which has been the most eulogized, the murder of the infamous tyrant Zohak, is invariably supposed in the legend to have taken place on the Albors, or more properly on the mountain of Demavend, to the south of the Caspian; the recollection of it indeed is kept up to this day, by the annual jubilee for the victory of Ferêdûn. The origin of the legend is seen at once to be mythological, for Thraêtaona is the Trita of the Veda, the slayer of the dæmon Vritra, who prevents the clouds from pouring out water; but there can be little doubt that some important event in the earliest history of the Iranians was worked up with it, mythology and heroölogy being very frequently mixed up together in the earliest legendary history. The name Varena is also borrowed from mythology. It is identical with Varuna, and signifies heaven. Allusion is made to it in the predicate *k*athru gaosha, "with four corners," which must mean the four corners of heaven. But in the legend the act of heroism above mentioned was connected with a specific place upon the earth, and gave to it the legendary name which we must endeavour to discover. The mention of Mâzanian

and Varenian Daêvas, in the conflict with whom the heroes ask aid from the Gods, furnishes another clue (It. 10, 69. 97. 134. 5, 22. 13, 71. 137.). There is frequent mention in the Shâhnâmeh of the Dive of Mâzenderân, the expedition against whom of Kai Kawu being the one best known. The Mazanian Daêvas of the Zendavesta must be these Dive of Mâzenderân, as the latter word evidently grew out of the former (mâzaynja) by the addition of the termination "an." But as they and the Varenians (Varenya) are usually mentioned together, we have a certain right to expect to find Varena in the neighbourhood of Mâzenderân. Ghilân, which is also a mountainous district, joins to the westward the latter mountain country, the inhabitants of which are, to the present day, remarkable for their lawless habits and daring character. The analogy of sound would also identify it with the Varena of which we are in search, it being a well-known law that the initial *v* of the Old Iranian usually becomes *g* in Modern Persian. Here the curses of Ahriman were secret charms, the practice of many of which we know to have been attributed to the Dive of Mâzenderân. The plagues by which the country was desolated — *not* of an Arian character, that is, such as are not met with in the old Arian countries — were earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, similar to those which took place there.

The Fifteenth country is Hapta-Hindu, which is divided into eastern and western. By this is meant the Indus country, called in the songs of the Veda, sapta sindhavas, or the *seven rivers*. These consist of the Sindhú, with its eastern confluents, Vitastâ (Hydaspes), Asiknî (Akesines), Parushnî (Hydraortes), Vipâs (Hyphasis), Satadru (Hesydrus), and the western, Kubhâ (Kophen), which comes from Cabul. The curses of the country are the sorceries of Ahriman and excessive heat, which accords with the southern part of the Indus district.

The Sixteenth country has no specific name. Its inhabitants are the dwellers near the sea coast, who do not require any ramparts. Their curses are winter and earthquakes. As the Caspian was the sea nearest to the Old Iranians, we must here understand the shores of that sea. The Indian ocean is out of the question, in consequence of the mention of cold. But the most probable supposition is that the author had in view the boundaries of the earth, and that ranha means the circumambient ocean.

Translation of the Record.

THE FIRST FARGARD OF THE VÊNDIDÂD.[215]

1. Ahura Mazda said to the hallowed Zarathustra: "I created, most holy Zarathustra, into a delicious spot what was hitherto wholly uninhabitable. For had not I, most holy Zarathustra, converted into a delicious spot what was hitherto wholly uninhabitable, all earthly life would have been poured forth after Airyana-Vaêgô.

2. ["Into a charming region (I converted) one which did not enjoy prosperity, the second (region) into the *first;* in opposition to it is great destruction of the existing cultivation.]

3. "As the first best of regions and countries, I, who am Ahura Mazda, created Airyana-Vaêgô of good capability; thereupon, in opposition to him, Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created a mighty serpent and snow, the work of the Daêvas.

4. "Ten months of winter are there—two months of summer.

["Seven months of summer are there; five months winter there were; the latter are cold as to water, cold as to earth, cold as to trees; there (is) mid-winter, the heart of winter; there all around falls deep snow; there is the direst of plagues.]

5. "As the second best of regions and countries, I, I Ahura Mazda, created Gâu, in which Sughdha is situated. Thereupon, in opposition to it, Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created pestilence, which is fatal to cattle, small and great.

6. "As the third best of regions and lands, I, I Ahura Mazda, created the strong, the pious Môuru.

[215] In the transcript AE is equivalent to Ê, and AO to ô. The passages in brackets are the additions of the Zendic editor.

Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it war and pillage.

7. "As the fourth best of regions and countries, I, I Ahura Mazda, created the happy Bâkhdhî with the tall banner. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it buzzing insects and poisonous plants.

8. "As the fifth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura, I, Mazda, created Nisâi [between Môuru and Bâkhdhî]. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus created in opposition to it the curse of unbelief.

9. "As the sixth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, I created Harôyu, the dispenser of water. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it hail and poverty.

10. "As the seventh best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, I created Vaêkereta, in which Duzhaka is situated. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it the Pairika Khnathaiti, who attached herself to Keresâspa.

11. "As the eighth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Urvâ, abounding in rivers. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus created, in opposition to it, the curse of devastation.

12. "As the ninth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Khnenta, in which Vehrkâna is situated. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus created, in opposition to it, the evil of inexpiable sins, pæderastism.

13. "As the tenth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created the happy Haraqaiti. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created the evil of inexpiable acts, the burial of the dead.

14. "As the eleventh best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Haêtumat, the wealthy and brilliant. Thereupon Angrô Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it Jâtu sins.

15. ["And he (*Angrô* Mainyus) is endowed with various powers and various forms. Wherever these come, on being invoked by one devoted to Jâtu, there the most horrible Jâtu sins arise; then spring up those which tend to murder and the deadening of the heart; powerful are they by dint of concealing their hideousness and by their enchanted potions.]

16. "As the twelfth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Raghâ with the three races. Thereupon *Angrô* Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it the evil of unbelief in the Supreme.

17. "As the thirteenth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created *K*akhra the strong, the pious. Thereupon *Angrô* Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created the curse of inexpiable acts, the burning of the dead.

18. "As the fourteenth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Varena with the four corners, —to him was born Thraêtaona, the slayer of the destructive serpent. Thereupon *Angrô* Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to him irregularly recurring evils (sicknesses) and un-Arian plagues of the country.

19. "As the fifteenth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created Hapta Hi*n*du, from the eastern Hi*n*du to the western. Thereupon *Angrô* Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition to it untimely evils and irregular fevers.

(20. "As the sixteenth best of regions and countries, I, Ahura Mazda, created those who dwell without ramparts on the sea-coast. Thereupon *Angrô* Mainyus, the Death-dealing, created in opposition snow, the work of the Daêvas, and earthquakes which make the earth to tremble.)

(21. "There are also other regions and countries, happy, renowned, high, prosperous, and brilliant.")

NOTES.

Verse 1. [2.] 3. 4. *Shâitîm.—Airyana Vaêgô.*

1. Shâitîm. - This word has given the commentators a great deal of trouble. Westergaard writes it joined with Kudat; Spiegel and the MSS. write it separately. I can find no authority for uniting them. We have in the Jeshts, some parallel passages. At 17, 6., shâiti (vocative) is a predicate of Ashi; at 22, 2., upa aêtam khshapanem avavat shâtôis urva ishaiti yatha vîspem imat yat *guyô* anhus: "in this night comes the soul (of the pious deceased) to the precise degree of happiness which it experienced in life." In It. 22, 20., avavat ashâtôis is used in the same connexion as here respecting the *impious* soul, in the sense of *unhappiness*. The superlative shâistem, which occurs so often in the third Fargard, has the same derivation as shâiti; there its meaning is clearly *the most agreeably*. They are both derived from a root, *shi*, of frequent occurrence in the Zend-avesta, corresponding exactly to Sanskrit *kshi*, to inhabit. Hence shâiti is an abstract substantive of the causal form shây. The abstract derivative from the simple stem is pronounced shiti. Hence the strict meaning of shâiti is *inhabitancy, housekeeping*, or even *hospitality*. Shâistem is a superlative formed directly from the causative (direct comparative and superlative formations of this kind are found in the Veda), and literally means *most habitable*, a sense which agrees perfectly with the context of the similar passage in the third Fargard. The Huzûresh translation reads here âsân, *easy, comfortable*, and in the margin it gives as a synonyme, niyûk, *good;* in Fargard 3., the superlative âsântûm, *most easily, most comfortably*. The general sense is not incorrect, though somewhat vague, as is not an unusual thing with the Huzûresh translators, and in consequence of which they are very apt to mislead. Shâiti, however, is preserved in the Modern Persian shâd, *joyous*. The following is the gloss to the passage in the Huzûresh translation:—"Had this happened (had the people been drawn after Airyana Vaêgô), the world would have been unable to go on; for it could not have continued in its proper condition from one zone to the other (from *kishver* to *kishver*)." In the sequel this translation offers a short introduction

to the repertory of the countries which now commences. They are placed in their regular order. The word *ginak*[216], by which asô (region) is rendered, signifies a place where men are not stationary; *rûstak*, by which shôithra (country) is rendered, on the contrary, signifies a place where they are stationary (hence the former implies the open plain in which men roam about, the latter fixed habitations, which when combined form villages and cities); it is, in fact, whole regions which are enumerated, and after some of them also the river Hêtômend (Haêtumat). The meaning of the verse is this: In the earliest time, Airyana Vaêgô was the only cultivated country; all the rest was a desert. But as there was a danger of Airyana Vaêgô being overflown by every living thing that existed in this desert, habitable regions were created in other parts of the earth. Asô râmôdâitîm cannot, as has hitherto been supposed, be airyanem-vaêgô, as in that case the hypothetical expression vispô anhus—frâshnvât would have no meaning, because it would be in direct contradiction to its premiss; but we must necessarily understand a country which offers a contrast to the paradise. The expression asô, from the same root as astvâo, *existing, earthly*, astis, *being, bodies*, derived from *as*, to be, and therefore having no connexion with the Vedish âsâ, *country, clime*, with which it has been compared, signifies something existing, in short, a specific part of all earthly existence in which there is life. The sense of "country" is in the first place derivative. An objection might be raised to this derivation, that the *s* in the root *as* generally becomes *h* in Zend; but there are instances of s becoming *s*, for instance as (he was), the imperfect of as, to be.

2. There is no Huzûresh translation at all of this verse. In the glosses which precede the translation of the third, no reference is made to it whatever. Spiegel does not think that they formed part of the original text; Westergaard, on the other hand, seems to think them genuine; at all events he does not put them within brackets. They are notices of the Zendic editor himself, as remarked in our Introduction. Instead of mashimârava (Spiegel), or mas mâ rava (Westergaard), readings which convey no satisfactory meaning, I propose to read mas mârava. Mas is the same as maz (comp. mash, Jas. 34, 9. 32, 3., and my note upon it). Mârava is referrible to a root

[216] The characters are perhaps more correctly read, *gawak*.

mare, and here, according to the tenor of the whole context, comes from one signifying "to die," causative "to kill." Shatham, which only occurs in this passage, belongs to the root *shi*, *khshi*, which, when it passes into the Gûna form *shai*, frequently drops the radical *i*; for instance, khsha-thra, lordship. The meaning of the passage is this: Ahura Mazda transformed into a delightful region those districts which had previously been deserts, and therefore not an agreeable residence; but to all these there were evils attached, which were drawbacks to their being inhabited. The expression, "I created into a first the second region," may mean — the desert, the waste, I raised into a paradise, or at least into a country next to a paradise. Thus the sixteen countries enumerated would be *first* countries; those less good, secondary, as countries of the second class. The words paoirîm bitîm may, however, have alluded to the succeeding countries, so that "et cætera" required to be supplied (the first, second, et cætera).

3. The name of the first country is Airyanem Vaêgô. By this is to be understood the original Arian home, the paradise of the Iranians. The ruler of this happy land was King Jima, the renowned Dshemshêd of the Iranian legend, who on that account is called srûtô airyênê vaêgahi, "the renowned in Airyana Vaêgô" (Farg. 2.); a title borne also by Ahura Mazda himself. Ahura Mazda and Zarathustra here adore the celestial source of water, the Ardvî sûrâ anâhitâ (It. 5, 17. 104.). Here Zarathustra prays to the Drvâspâ (the patroness of horses, It. 9, 25.), and to Ashi (17, 45.). Thus Airyana Vaêgô becomes altogether a mythical country, the seat of gods and heroes, where there is neither sickness nor death, frost nor heat, as is the case in the realm of Jima. In the chapter before us, however, we may still discover the historical background. In Airyana Vaêgô there are ten months of winter. But winter, as being one of the curses of Ahriman, has no connexion with the paradise in which, according to the legend, only happiness and bliss were found. This notice, however, is exactly suited to regions in the far north, or in a very high situation, and it is a primeval reminiscence of the real cradle of the Iranians. Thus, in the legend of Airyana Vaêgô, the real historical reminiscence of their early home has been merged in the description of a happy paradisiacal original state of mankind, such as is presented to us in various popular tales. As regards the etymology,

vaêgô (thema, vaêganh) has nothing to do with the Sanskrit vîga, seed, origin, as hitherto supposed, first, because such a meaning is unsuitable to the name of a country, and, secondly, because it is not found in this sense in the oldest Sanskrit (biga, Rv. V. 4, 9, 13., with the predicates dhânya and akshita, must have the signification of possession). It is, however, still retained in the Modern Persian words wêz and wêzheh, according to the Burhân-i-qati, the special, particular, then in the sense of pure, unmixed, and also in the Armenian vigak, possession. Indeed, we find it used also in the Modern Persian sense in Bactrian; for instance, It. 19, 92.: "Yat (kavaêm qarenô) astvat-eretô frakhstâiti haka apat Kasuyât astô mazdâo ahurahê vîspa-taurvayâo puthrô vaêdhîm vaêgô yim vârethraghnîm yim barat takhmô Thraêtaonô yat azhis dahâkô gaini; "which (the Kavi-brightness[217]), the Awakener of the Earthly[218], produced from the water Kasuya, he who was sent forth, the son of the all-conquering Ahura Mazda, the watchful, the pure, which was borne by the brave Thraêtaona when he slew the destructive serpent." This passage, as well as the Modern Persian, proves the word vaêgô to be properly an adjective, and a closer examination of the name Airyanem Vaêgô brings us to the same conclusion. The whole context shows that Airyanem cannot be an adjective, but must be a substantive, and, in fact, an abstraction of airya, Arians; hence it signifies Arianship, or the Arian country. Vaêgô (the neuter of an adjective vaêgâo) is its adjective, and it designates the original home as being that of all the Daêvas and Daêva-worshippers, as well as a country exempt from the curses of the evil spirit, *pure* Arian. This *pure unmixed* Arian country forms at the same time a contrast to Iran, which has acquired historical celebrity. The root is probably the Sanskrit vik, to divide, separate.—Azhim raoidhitem, Spiegel translates *great serpent.* But *great* is rather too vague a meaning. The Huzûresh translation has

[217] The whole tenth Jesht is dedicated to this "Brightness." Jima first bore it, from him it passed to the most distinguished heroes of the Foretime, and through it alone they were enabled to perform such wonderful exploits. It is something like the Tarn-cap in the German myth.

[218] This is *Saoskyans*, Sosiosh, the Persian Messiah, who awakens the dead at the last day.

rûtîk, the same word, but in the Pehlvi dialect. Had the intention been to express the sense of "great," *mah* or *kabir* would certainly have been selected. *Rût*, in Parsee-Pehlvi, means "river," in Modern Persian *rûd*. Rûtîk is an adjective derived from it (in Pehlvi *k* is commonly affixed to words ending with vowels) and means consequently "flowing," "running." This translation is quite correct. *Raoidhita* comes from the root *rudh* "to run, to flow;" and, though no longer found in the verbal form (perhaps raodha*t*, It. 19, 40., might be connected with it), there is a variety of evidence showing that it must once have co-existed. The Righan*t*avas use *rohita*, as nadînâma, to express river, and likewise rodha*k*âkrâh, and again there is the Modern Persian rûd, river. The Raoidhita in question occurs as the name of a mountain in It. 19, 2. In It. 10, 126. we have a superlative upa-râodhistô, the predicate of Rashnu razista (the most perfect justice, the judge of the dead, according to the doctrine of the present Parsees). Hence, it here means "flowing, or made to flow." When applied to a serpent this can only refer to its emitting poison. How the idea of a serpent emitting poison was obtained from the words Airyana vaêgô is difficult to say; from some volcano, possibly, or spring of hot water. It may possibly also mean winter in general. Zyam, the accusative of zyâo, does not mean literally winter, as has been supposed, but snow. The real word for winter is zima, from a root *zi* = Sanskrit *hi*, to pour, the rainy or snowy season; zyâo, on the contrary, from its formation, means "something pouring out," snow. Compare χειμών, winter, and χιών, snow, from the same root. It is quite clear, from the termination of verse 4., that it is distinct from zîma.

4. In respect to the supplement, see above. Askare, as Westergaard correctly spells it. (Spiegel makes two words of it, *as kare*), is the third person plural of the imperfect or so-called aorist, from *as*, to be; the sk is, what so frequently occurs, merely another reading for sh, which is interchangeable with *s;* strictly, it ought to be asare. This preterite form is here used instead of the present, which circumstance, added to the peculiarity of the form, is an argument in favour of the supplement being very ancient. Adha must, from the context, mean *here*, *there*, and not *then*, as in the Veda. (Comp. It. 10, 93. 94. 114.)

Verse 5. *Sughd*, *Sogd* (*Sughdhô-shayanem*).

Although the meaning of the word shayanem is very simple, there have been so many mistakes made about it, that it will be necessary to devote a few words to it here. It is an abstraction from *shi*, "to dwell," and signifies "the dwelling, dwelling-place," and "country, district." For instance, in It. 10, 13.: adhât vîspem âdidhâiti airyo-shayanem *s*evistô: "thereupon the mightiest (Mithra) enlightens the whole Arian country." 10, 15.: Qaniratbem bâmîm gava-shayanem: "the shining Qaniratha (name of the seventh keshvar), the land of cattle." 10, 4.: râma-shayanem hushayanem airyâbyô dazhubyô (Mithrem yazamaidê): "we worship Mithra, who provides a charming habitation, a good habitation for the Arian countries." As being the last member of a composite word, the first of which contains a name, it betokens the place where the first is found; airyô-shayanem, for instance. If the composite word be an adjunct to a substantive, it must necessarily be used in the sense of an adjective (it becomes Bahuvrîhi). Thus Gâum *S*ughdhô-shayanem properly means Gâu, having for its dwelling-place *S*ughdha; i. e. Gâu, whose residence is *S*ughdha. This residence, κατ' ἐξοχήν, must obviously mean the capital, and there is every appearance of *S*ughdha having been a metropolis. After this analysis, it will appear that Vehrkâna in v. 14. (Kne*n*tem Vehrkânô-shayanem) cannot possibly be a country, but must be the name of the capital of Khne*n*ta, or at all events of the main river.—The name *S*ughdha does not come from *s*ukta, pure, nor is it the original name of a river, as Burnouf has made it; no such meaning attaches to it in the Bactrian. The root *suk* in the Zendavesta, as well as in the Veda, signifies "to burn," and from it comes *s*ukhra, burning bright, red, as applied to fire, and it is still found in the Modern Persian surkh, red. *S*ughdha itself, however, can hardly be a mere past participle passive, inasmuch as there was no reason for the softening down of k into gh, and of ta into dha. Such changes occur only when there is a weak sound in the following syllable. Comp. dregvô-debis (instrum. plur. from dregvâo, liar, bad), where d takes the place of t on account of the b; and azdebis (instrum. plur. from asti, bodies), where the double consonant *st*, on account of b, is weakened into zd. It should rather be divided into *S*ugh, = *S*uk,

and dha. Dha is identical with dha in idha, here, adha, there, tâdha, in that place, and signifies consequently a *where*, a place in which something is. *S*uk is the Burning, fire; hence it means a place of fire, or land of fire, which is perfectly intelligible, from the great veneration with which fire was regarded by the Iranians, and the great merit which attached to the lighting and watching it. *S*kaiti is an ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. The Huzûresh translation has kûrk, beetle (gawartak is afterwards used in the same sense, Modern Persian, gaward), which attacks sheep and cattle. It is clear that it here means a disease of cattle, but what the beetle has to do with this is difficult to say (Spiegel translates it gad-fly). They may possibly have supposed that the disease was occasioned by an insect. Cognate with *s*kaiti is the Modern Persian *suk*, *sick* in English, *siech* in German, and perhaps *scabies*.—By daya is meant small cattle, or perhaps young calves; at all events, it is put in opposition to gava. It comes from dhâi, "to suck." Comp. dâjo, Jasna, 29. 2., with my remark.

Verse 6. *Môuru.*

This word is a corruption of Margush, as we find it spelled more archaically in the first cuneiform character. This is intelligible when we recollect that *maregha*, bird, becomes *marû* in Parsee (there must have been an original form, *mareghu*), whereas the Modern Persian has retained *murgh*, which is nearer to the original. The change was effected thus: the final u acted upon the a of the first syllable, and made it into ô, as frequently happens in Bactrian: comp. *paru*, much, in the Median cuneiform character, Bactrian *pôuru*. The clear a of the first syllable being thus thickened, the consonant gh was less audible in pronunciation, and gradually was dropped altogether. For the meaning of it, see above.—Maredhâ comes from *mared*, to murder, in the Jasna, and means murder, war.—Windischmann derives Vîthusham (Münch. Gelehrte Anzeigen Philos.-philolog. Klass, 1855, i. No. 4. p. 29.) from *tush*, to be quieted, so that with the prefix *vî* it signifies *un-rest*. I cannot acquiesce in this, although it is preferable to Spiegel's rendering, "evil reports," which arises from his misunderstanding the Huzûresh

version.[219] There is no connexion between it and vîthushi, It. 16, 15., which is simply the feminine participle present of vîdvâo, "the knowing." On the other hand, vîthisi, It. 10, 80. (according to all the MSS.), which is like gata, slain, killed, would seem to have an analogy with vîthushâm in this text. Its original form is somewhat difficult to discover, because we have observed a change of sound previously unknown, first noticed by myself (see the Zeitschr. der d.-morgenländ. Ges. ix. p. 693.). This vîthusham is a feminine formed by means of â from the well-known vîtare, by, over (in Modern Persian, guder), and thus stands for vîtare-â. In this form the e, which was pronounced short, would disappear; the r passed into the original s, out of which it *always* grew in the neuter formations of *re*, kardshvarer vazdvare, &c. for instance, and by this transition the sound a was also thickened. The explanation is still more simple if we assume *sâ*, *shâ*, to be the ending, in which case it would have come from vîtarshâ. Ar must then have become ush; as hunustâ evidently grew out of hunaretâ; *g*âgerebustrô of *g*âgerebartara; and Zarathustra of Zarathatara. According to this, vîthushâ signifies, going through, passage, incursion, and this agrees perfectly with the word *maredhâ*, murder, which unquestionably has that meaning, as *mared* means murder in Zend. In this way the parallel passages above cited can be satisfactorily explained.

Verse 7. *Bâkhdî.*

This name is derived from *bagha*, lot, luck, and signifies properly "fortunate spot," an appellation very suitable to Bactra, to which the epithet *s*rîrâ, the lucky, is applied.—Eredhwô-drafsha is applied adjectively to an army (haênâ) as in It. 1, 11. 4, 4. 13, 136. It signifies "with the tall banner," not "with uplifted banner," which is uzgereptô-drafsha.—Bravarem. The Huzûresh translation has dûr-*k*akât, a word the meaning of which I have not yet been able to ascertain for certain. *K*akât is the same as the Modern Persian *k*akâd, "crown of the head," and "peak of a mountain;" dûr means far—but the characters may be also read gôr, which would signify desert, tomb, so that the whole would mean "barrow," "cemetery," the most unclean

[219] אמר is not the Hebrew אמר, to speak, but stands for עמל, labour, trouble.

of places in the eyes of the Parsees. Anquetil translates it "ants," which seems to be sheer guesswork; Spiegel, "voracious animals." He gets this etymology from the Vedic *bharv*, to consume, to eat, which is applied to the Fire-God Agni, who consumes the wood. (Rv. 1, 143, 5. 6, 6, 2.) But as this root is of very rare occurrence, and may be a provincialism, I think it preferable to derive it from the Sanskrit *bhram* (Latin fremo), to wander about, originally to hum, to buzz, from which comes *bhramara*, the bee, as well as the German *bremse*, gadfly. There is nothing unusual in the transition from m to v.—The explanation of usadhaska is more difficult. The Huzûresh translation and Spiegel do not notice it. Windischmann (loc. cit. p. 29.) reads usdhaska, as does one MS., and he compares it with the Sanskrit uddansa, bug. Plausible as this derivation seems at first sight, there are many objections to it. The preposition ut must before d have been changed to z (comp. uzdatâ, uzdaêza), and not one of the MSS. has a z; besides which, it is difficult to understand why the *n*, which is so *necessary* here, should not be found in a single reading. The word *nurtu* which follows immediately after may lead to its real meaning, which Spiegel has very properly placed within brackets, as it is clear from the whole context that it is a later addition for the purpose of explanation. It exists in Modern Persian (*nurtu* stands for *nartu*), and signifies a stump, bough of a tree, and is likewise the name of a tree The Sanskrit nṛtû, worm, is too far-fetched. Hence usadhaska seems to be the name of some noxious plant. It may be identical with the Vedic oshadhi plant, the pronunciation of which, even, is much more like it than uddansa.

Verse 8. *Nisâim.*

The thema is Nisâya, from ni and *si*, to lie, in the sense of establishment, settlement. Vîmanôhîm is an adjective, formed from vîmanôhya, from vî-manô, doubt, unbelief, Mod. Pers. gumân, in the same sense. In proof that unbelief is here spoken of, compare the remarks about Raghâ in the Introduction.

Verse 9. *Harôyu.*

Spiegel translates vis-harezanem, the predicate of Harôyu, "which is rich in houses." This, however, is a decided mistake,

as vis here has not the full signification of vis, dwelling, vicus. The Huzûresh translation is on the whole right; it renders it by vis shakûn, i. e. soaked with water. Vis in Zend means "juice;" for instance, Jas. 10, 1.: vis apam, the juice of the waters (from the drops of Homa); Vênd. 5, 36.: yatha vazghaskit vis-huskô tarô yâre meretô, like a frog which is dead for a whole year, with its juices dried up: Vênd. 20, 3., vis-kithrem signifies a remedy. It was afterwards used in the sense of poison; comp. It. 19, 40. and Bundeh. p. 9. l. 1., ed. Westergaard; from which came the Sanskrit, visha, Latin, virus.—Harezanem, from harez, = Sanskrit, srg, to dismiss; Mod. Pers. hesh-ten, to leave, means dismissal, discharge. This predicate, discharging juice or water, agrees very well with the name Harôyu, which means "streaming freely."—Saraskem is still preserved in Parsee, srisk, Mod. Pers. sirishk, drop. It. 5, 120. 16, 10., we find a present participle, saraskintaê (dat. sing. masc.), and saraskintyâo (gen. sing. fem.), with words signifying to rain (vâr), and to snow (snaêzh). There must be a connexion between it and our saraska and sirishk, and accordingly it properly means "dropping." Raindrops never do harm except when they fall on the ground in a frozen state in the shape of hail. As in the passage before us saraska is mentioned as a curse, we cannot after these remarks understand any thing else by it but hail. This is confirmed also by the derivation, which is from the root sar, whence comes sareta, frozen. Driwika cannot be referred to anything but driwi, poverty (whence Mod. Pers. derwîsh). Drbhîka in Vedic (Rv. ii. 14, 3.), a designation of the dæmons, Vrtra, who keep off the rain, corresponds to it.

Verse 10. *Vaêkereta.*

The Huzûresh translators understand the Pairikâ Khnathaiti to signify "idol worship." The origin of this meaning is probably to be sought in some old reminiscence of the worship of a Pairikâ. In the valley of Pishin, to the east of Segestan, fairies, the Paricani of the classics, are to this day worshipped by the natives. The word upanhakat is applied to something which sticks permanently, and attaches itself to a specific person. It is very common, for instance in Jesht 19., in which is eulogized the "brightness" which settled upon various heroes of antiquity, and accompanied them all their lives. Now the Pairikâ who

attached herself to Keresâspa does not seem to have been originally considered as an evil genius, for to all appearance the wonderful exploits of that hero were performed under her influence.

Verse 11. *Urvâ* (*Kabul*).

Aiwistâra is here without a predicate, though at verse 18. we find anairyâ dazhêus aiwistâra, and at verse 20. taozhyâ dazhêus aiwistâra. Judging from these adjectives, it is a word of more general signification, which must imply "misfortune," "evil." There are two possible derivations for it. It may come from the root stare, to strew, and aiwi, about. It is used principally of strewing about the baresma (It. 13, 27. 94.) and the barezis, which is synonymous = Ved. barhis. (It. 5, 102.). But it also means to upset, to throw down, in which sense we find it applied specially to the discomfiture of evil spirits (Vênd. 19, 2., staretô, overthrown). It is still found in the original sense of strewing, in the Mod. Pers. word bister, bed, mattress, which comes from aiwi-stara. This, however, will not do for our aiwistâra, whereas the meaning we adopt would suit it very well. There is, however, another possible derivation. We may divide it into aiwis-târa, from the root tar, to pass through, whence comes tarô, diagonally through, perverse, bad; It. 8, 8. 39., the causative, titârayêiti, is used of driving away the Pairikas. The Mod. Pers. has a word bistâr, weak, unsteady, which is certainly a mutilated form of aiwistâra. From which of these two roots it is derived, it is difficult with certainty to decide. As regards the sense it is almost the same thing; in one case we have the idea of upsetting, in the other, that of driving through and expelling, and in them both that of devastation and wasting. This is alluded to in the predicate anairya (verse 18.), which is not applied here in the proposed sense of "bad," as Spiegel supposes, but is to be taken in its original meaning, "not Arian," as contrasted with "Arian." The anairyâ aiwistâra are devastations of an Arian country by wild and barbarous tribes.

Verse 12. *Khnenta* (*Kandahar*).

Narô-vaêpaya, literally "sowing of men," i. e. Pæderastism. This is a vice most strictly prohibited, and considered as an inexpiable sin, Vênd. 8, 32. The pathicus is termed viptô.

Verse 13. *Haraqaiti* (*Arachosia*).

Nasuspaya may be divided into nasu-spaya, removal of the dead, and nasus-paya, preserving the dead. The latter is undoubtedly the right meaning. We must understand by it the burial of the dead, which notoriously was considered in the Zarathustrian religion as the greatest desecration of holy earth.

Verses 14. 15. *Haêtumat* (*Hilmend*).

Agha yâtava, Jâtu sins. The Parsees have lost the real meaning of it; they understand by it murder. In general in the Zendavesta the Yâtavô are classed with the Pairikâo (It. 1, 6. 8, 44. 3, 5. 5, 13. 19, 29.) and evil spirits. They are not, however, considered spiritual beings, but men; for instance, 8, 44.: yâtavô mashyânam, the Jâtus among men. The adjective yâtumat of frequent occurrence is derived from yâtu by means of mat, which we find equivalent to yâtu; for instance, It. 15, 56.: nôit yâtavô, nôit yâtumâo, "not Jâtus, not Jâtu-like." Vênd. 21, 17. and. It 3, 16., yâtumaiti is an epithet of gahi, a rival; Jas. 61, 3., zandam (a shameful wretch) and yâtumatam are synonymous. But in Vênd. 20, 1. we find it between yaokhstivat (provided with means) and raêvat (rich) as a predicate of physicians. Vênd. 3, 41., yâtughnî, the murder of a Yâtu, is mentioned with ashavaghni, the murder of a pure person, and likê the latter is regarded as an expiable crime. In Mod. Pers. yâtu exists in the form of gâdû, meaning "enchanter": gâdûsukhun (one who speaks magical words) means, on the contrary, a poet. It would be difficult from these notices to get a clear idea of the nature of the Jâtus, did not the Vedas on this, as well as many other obscure points, supply us with fuller information. The last song (104.) in the seventh book of the Rigveda furnishes the best clue to it, and the same is repeated in the Atharva-veda with some slight alterations (8, 4.). It is an address to the two Gods Indra and Soma, who are invoked to destroy the evil dæmons, Râkshasah and Yâtudhânâh. I will give the most salient points. They injure the life of man (ver. 15.), they destroy them by charms (mâyâ, 25.), they change themselves into birds, fly by night, pollute sacrifices (18.) and spoil the butter (21.). They are both male and

female (24.); they take the form of owls, vultures, dogs, and other animals (22.). The author of the song curses any one who calls a person who is not a Jâtu, a Jâtudhâna. Indra will slay such calumniators (16.). Any one conversant with German mythology will see at once that there is a connexion between these Jâtus and our witches. The name, too, exactly suits such an idea and nature. Yâtu means a going or wandering up and down, in the concrete, one roving backwards and forwards. In the Veda they are usually called Yâtu-dhâna, i. e. those whose nature it is to move about, to wander up and down at night. Yâtumat has the same meaning, as we find in the Zendavesta. It is one disposed to witchery, as the popular German belief likewise is that a special tendency to it is requisite. At verse 15. their nature is somewhat more particularly described. They are in league with Angrô Mainyus, as in the German superstition they are with the devil. He practises a number of deceitful tricks, and appears under a great variety of forms, If these arts are communicated by him to those who are disposed to sorcery, (with us also the witches are instructed by the devil,) they then become perfect adepts in witchery, and set out under the most hideous shapes to execute their deeds of murder and destruction.—Aêm is connected with Angrô Mainyus. In regard to *dakhstem*, see my notes on Jasna 34, 6.—Paiti-daya is derived from di, to see (common in the Zendavesta), and paîti. It is the thing which offers itself to the sight, the form, and is still retained in Mod. Pers. paidâ, obvious.—Some MSS. have a better reading for kavaka, kava*kit*, which is only an inaccurate way of pronouncing kva*kit*. The meaning is, "wheresoever." —Zaoyêhê: It. 13, 23. 148., the plural zaoâyo is a predicate of the Fravashi. It means literally "worth invoking," "worthy of veneration"=Sanskr. havya, as is clear upon comparing 13, 23. and 24. In the passage before us, zaoyêhê is a genitive absolute, used adverbially in the sense of invocation. Comp. zavēng gasatâ, Jasn. 28, 4., with my note.—Khsta*m*i is the Mod. Pers. shtâm, hideous, ugly; *k*at, or *k*adha, as some MSS. read it, is identical with the Sanskrit *k*ad, to conceal, cover, and it occurs also in Zend in derivatives. Madha-kha can come from nothing but madha=madhu, sweet, intoxicating drink. This refers to enchanted potions by which the devotees of Jâtu injure man. See the note to Jasna 48, 10., upon Madha as a name of the Soma in a bad sense.

Verse 16. *Rugh.* (*Rhagæ, Rei*).

We have already offered some remarks upon this verse in the Introduction (p. 485.).

Verse 17. (*Kakhra* (*Karkh* in *Khorassan*).

Nasus-pa*k*ya, more correctly written nasus-pa*k*aya; pa*k*, to cook = coquere, here signifies the burning of the dead (see Windischmann, loc. cit. p. 30.).

Verse 18. *Varena* (*Ghilan*).

Arathwya, adjective from ratu. This word, which is identical with the Sanskrit *r*tu, signifies first a regularly recurring period (literally, a course), a time of the day or year, then a law, ordinance (for the sake of regularity). In the latter sense it was frequently used in the concrete, and signified the lawgiver, the leader of the ranks, the leader (for further particulars see the glossary to the songs of Zarathustra). According to this, the adjective rathwya, as well as the negative of it, arathwya, may bear the three following significations:—First, regularly or irregularly recurring, It. 10, 67.: Mithra proceeds rathwya *k*akhra ha*k*imnô, "followed by the regularly recurring wheel," i. e. of the sun. It. 5, 2., the Anâhitâ brings milk to those who are pregnant, rathwîm paêma, "at the right time, at the regular time":—Secondly, lawfully or unlawfully, It. 10, 30. 31.: to worship rathwya yasna, "with the prayer prescribed by law:" 24. 47.: arathwya khshathra, "unlawful dominion:"—Thirdly, recognising or not recognising Zarathustra as the Supreme Being; i. e. orthodox or heretical, Afrigan 1, 16, 17.; rathwyô-mana*n*hem, and arathwyô-mana*n*hem, with orthodox or unorthodox views, and in like manner rathwyô-va*k*a*n*hem and arathwyô-va*k*a*n*hem, rathwyô-skyaothnem, and arathwyô-skyaothnem. The arathwya ḳakhsta in the verse before us is used in the second sense, and signifies the deceitful arts of Ahriman as forbidden and unlawful. Perhaps we may understand by them diseases.

Verse 19. *Hapta Hindu (Indus country).*

Garemâum, or, as it is read more correctly in some MSS., garemaom. This accusative implies the existence of a nominative, garemu or garemâva, which does not occur again in the Zendavesta. Whether it has the same meaning as garema, heat, is questionable. What was the object of such a new and very strange-looking formation, if the simple garema would answer the purpose? It is probably an error of transcription for garenaom, from garenu, fever (It. 13, 131.). The m, instead of n, might easily occur, owing to the accusative ending in m. In connexion with arathwya it signifies fevers which do not come on at definite periods, but are intermittent and irregular, sometimes at one time, sometimes at another, and which assume the form of pestilence.

Verse 20. *World-Ocean.*

Upa aodhaêshu ra*n*hayâo. Spiegel is wrong in translating it "in the East of Ra*n*hâ." On comparing the parallel passages we see at once that Ra*n*ha here is not the name of a particular place, but means a lake or sea generally. For instance, It. 14, 29. 16, 7.: Karô masyô upâpô yô ra*n*hayâo dûraê-pârayâo *g*afrayâo, the fish, kar, which is in the water, in the broad sea (properly, with distant shores), the deep; 15, 27.: upa gudhem ra*n*hayâo Mazda-dhâtayâo, in the deep of the sea created by Mazda; comp. further 5, 81. 10, 104. The corresponding word in the Veda, rasa, signifies generally "water," "moisture," (Rv. 4, 43, 6.) and then it seems to have become the name of a river, of which we know nothing more (Rv. 5, 53, 9.). Everything seems to show that in the Zendâvesta it does not mean a river—the subsequent remarks in the verse before us would not be suitable—but a lake or sea. Probably it is the Great Ocean.—Aodhaêshu. It. 12, 18. 19., we find a contrast between upa aodhâeshu ra*n*hayâo and upa *s*ankê ra*n*hayâo. *S*anka is probably identical with the Sanskr. *s*ankha, muscle, and signifies the bottom of the sea: aodhaêshu offers a tempting similarity to udaka, water; but the dh creates a difficulty: besides, it would be remarkable if the ordinary word for water, âfs, were not used here. It is identical with the Sanskrit avadhi, border, and signifies, in contradistinction to the *bottom*

of the sea, the sea *shore*.—Asârô, without ramparts; comp. *sâra*, protection, It. 5, 77. 14, 46. 12., with the Sanskrit *sarma*, refuge. Taozhya must not be compared with the Sanskrit tushâra, cold, but is derived from tu*g*, to shake, to swing, which is retained in the Armenian in the form tuzh-yel, to punish. In the passage before us it is the adjective to aiwistâra. By these shocks we are probably to understand earthquakes.

Verse 21. Concluding verse.

Gufra is derived from gub, to say, to speak, and means celebrated; comp. Vend. 21, 13. In regard to frasha, see the note to Jas. 34, 9., in my work "The Gâthâs, or Songs of Zarathustra, published, translated, and explained."

"PART VII."

THE

HISTORICAL EPOCHS AND DATES OF THE ARIANS

IN INDIA.

SECTION I.

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN THE VEDAS AND LISTS OF KINGS, AND THE LOCALITIES, COMPARED WITH THE ACCOUNTS IN MEGASTHENES.

A.

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN THE VEDAS, LISTS OF KINGS, AND LOCALITIES.

HISTORICAL research upon India has shared pretty nearly the same fate as the geological investigations about the antiquity of the earth, which were set on foot almost at the same time. Sir William Jones was the Buffon of Indian chronology, and he, as well as the uncritical Wilford even, reckoned for a considerable period among their followers the students of the Romantic and Indo-Germanic school in France, and more especially in Germany. The enthusiasm excited in favour of Sanskrit, owing to its important bearing on philology and the pantheistic, semi-mystical, semi-poetical philosophy, exercised no very favourable influence on the criticism of German investigators. This period was succeeded by one of sober research under Colebrooke and Wilson, and their adherents Burnouf and Lassen. All the members of the more modern German Sanskrit school, as represented by Benfey, Roth, Max Müller, and Weber, have maintained the same standard of criticism. In regard to dates, a reaction has evidently taken place, and it is now in full swing. Its prevailing feature is doubt as to whether there is any thing historical in the Indian accounts prior to Alexander the Great, and the

decision indeed is against it. In my opinion the task of the historical critic is far from being concluded, but no remedy is to be looked for so long as Indian chronological research is carried on apart from the history of the Iranian Arians, and the rest of Central Asia.

True it is that the Sanskrit Indians have, of all the Arian races, the least turn for historical pursuits. With them everything resolves itself into the ideal and symbolical, and then assumes a fantastic shape.

But what right have we to extend this to the Vedic Indians, between whose intellectual tendencies and literature and that of the other Indians there is so marked a contrast, that it seems as if a deep chasm divided them? The former are merely Iranian Arians who crossed the Indus, as regards their language, their customs, and religious observances.

The few extant, but therefore more valuable, remains of their tradition prove that these Iranian Arians had not forgotten their earliest times. These will be brought into notice in the Fifth Book. How, indeed, could these reminiscences have been entirely lost in India at so early a date as that of the oldest Vedas, which are the monuments of Arian life in the country of the Five Rivers? For these Iranian Arians had not then adopted strictly Indian habits; they were not yet wholly immersed in the moral intoxication of Brahminical life, for whose votaries the realities of the world and the sanctity of history possessed no attractions or value.

According to the views of many modern Indian critics, indeed, all inquiry into the earlier times of India is a hopeless task, not only owing to the dreadful confusion (which cannot be denied) in the epic traditions with which we are at present acquainted, as well as the subsequent narratives, but because no authentic records have ever existed at all. We know enough, it is said, of the history of Indian literature to make us scout such

an idea as that annals once existed, which now are lost, to which Megasthenes may have had access. Any critic accustomed to biblical and Egyptian researches would see at once the serious flaw in the reasoning by which such a conclusion was arrived at. Weber's learned synopsis of Indian literature may suffice to prove how much of it, even down to the titlepage, has perished. But assuming there never were Indian annals, strictly historical chronicles, there may still have been genealogical registers containing more or less connected dates, accompanied by historical popular ballads, and that indeed in Vedic times, or at least very soon after. Such records, connected with their royal houses, are cited in both the epic histories. This is sufficient proof that several such existed, and, in fact, that though they exhibited considerable discrepancies in details, their common origin and the existence of a sort of settled framework are undeniable. There is no other way of explaining the common element in the long tradition of their primitive ages, which does not possess, and can never have possessed, any mythological meaning whatever, or any meaning but an historical one. This common historical element is found in the old hymns, as compared with the Puranas and the epic narrators. How else can the occurrence of single isolated dates in our Sanskrit records, in reference to the length of certain periods, be accounted for, to say nothing at present about Megasthenes? Dates which are entirely inappropriate to all known traditions, astronomical as well as poetico-historical, recommend themselves, on the contrary, in preference to all others, in the estimation of the greatest critics. This, in the opinion of two commentators of the highest order, Wilson and Lassen, is especially the case as regards the commencement of the Kaliyug, an era said to have been current nearly 5000 years (3102 B.C.). We believe we shall be able to prove that it cannot have commenced till the tenth cen-

tury before the Christian era, so that an extant very noteworthy date in the Brahminical books, although unsupported elsewhere, fixing it at about 1400 B.C., comes very close to the historical truth, as contrasted with the assumption of the present system.

Anuvansa, i. e. lists of kings, and genealogies, called Gôtra-vansa [220], if they contained the succession with a few short detached notices about the heads of tribes, were the groundwork on which the compilers of the earlier portions of these glorious legends based their narratives. There may have been hundreds of these which have long since perished; we have, indeed, direct evidence that such was the case. The Mahâbhârata contains two lists of kings of the race of the Moon which differ from each other. In one of them distichs are quoted from an older record, an Anuvansa in which facts were given as well as names.[221] I will, however, at once admit that in my opinion none of these Sanskrit sources of information have any historical value, except in so far as they relate to matters within a certain range of sharply distinguished epochs. Personal history can only be introduced as an exceptional case, and even then the details are very doubtful. In the epics, Visvâmitra is a king; it is true that his name occurs also in the Vedas, but there he is a minstrel in the service of several kings and tribes in the Indus country. All the ballads in the third book of the Rig-veda are attributed to Visvâmitra, or, rather, the successors of Visvâmitra. On other occasions two names occur connected with each other, but the son of a hero in the epos is the father in the Vedas. The Vedic Gods, in the Sanskrit period, are completely thrown into the background by others of whom the Vedas either know nothing at all, Siva for instance, or else use their names in a totally different sense, as is the case with

[220] Lassen, i. 494. [221] Id. p. 495.

Brahma and Vishnu. For these reasons, therefore, the history of the early times may be regarded as systematically adulterated or adjusted by the Brahmins themselves in those epic poems, and in the notices annexed to the ancient hymns. A large portion is borrowed from historical sources, and dressed up in an ideal shape. There is a striking instance of it in their fantastic system of the ages of the world and its catastrophes; this we find most complete in the Manu, which is probably a patchwork posterior to Buddha. Not the slightest trace of this nonsense about millions of years is discoverable in the Purânas and the older lists of the two epics. We have four eras, with a number of kings who reigned 1000 years and upwards, together with others who only reigned 30 or 40. But there are no cosmical eras; the first even does not appear in that shape: and yet it is this comparatively modern nonsense which has induced almost all recent investigators to regard the original portion of the tradition of the four epochs as a poetical version of the Ages of the World, and to think themselves relieved from the necessity of instituting further researches. The older tradition carries us from the region of dreams into the periods of strict history. The distinction of epochs strengthens the basis of the assumption that we are now, generally speaking, on historical ground, whatever may be the value of some particular details.

For it is very true that its value must first be tested in those details. To expect to find anything better in the chronicles, which have themselves grown out of these epical descriptions, would be hopeless. It would be very like attempting to restore the history of the Franks and of Charlemagne from the romance of the "Gesta Francorum," instead of from contemporary sources. They all connect the history of their royal race with the mythical generation, just as the "Gesta" connect the Franks with Æneas and Ascanius.

Now, if even in the Sanskrit the older tradition be the sober one, and the pure fiction its later form, so in the oldest hymns of the Vedas we are not only on strictly historical ground, but contemporary subjects are very frequently treated of. It is true that notices of this kind are only casual, yet, even with our present partial knowledge of these primeval lays, they do not contain so little historical matter as is generally supposed. It is clear from what has been published by Roth and Weber, by the one on the historical matter in the Rik, by the other in the corresponding passages in the Jasus, that these historical remarks deserve our most serious consideration.

But even here the palpable discrepancies are evident proofs of the systematic and popular recasting of the old tradition.

This mutilation of the ancient history commences, it is true, with the original stock of the two epics, the Râmâyana, or narrative of the exploits of Râma, and the Mahâbhârata, the groundwork of which seems to be the great war of extermination between the Royal races in Kuruksetra. Both these epics were for a long time transmitted orally, that is, were sung.[222] Indeed the Mahâbhârata, in its present shape, bears on the face of it evidence of three fourths being a new composition. It embraces the whole of India, whereas the other epos only notices the northern parts as Arian. Every thing to the south of the Vindya mountains is represented as desert.

The best chronicle, that of Cashmir, was only composed in the year 1125 of our era, and yet it evidently contains a general historical tradition about Cashmir from 1182 B. C., that is from the reign of the so-called third Gônarda. The learned author nevertheless complains bitterly that the accounts are very contradictory; and so late as 600 years before his time the thread of

[222] Lassen, i. 482. seq.

the narrative breaks off, so that he is obliged to make one of his kings reign 300 years.[223] The Buddhistic annals are just as uncritical as the Brahmanic in respect to the period prior to Buddha.

As regards the Purânas ("antiquity"), of which we possess eighteen, it appears from an old account of their contents that the ancient form has been totally altered, and the present composition is of very late date.[224] They are especially connected with the Mahâbhârata, the epos of the third era, which is itself of a very prosaic character, but represent every thing in the sense of the subsequent religious worship, whether that of Vishnu or of Siva. The sources whence their information as to the later periods was derived were oral traditions and written documents, composed out of those which referred to the current era. The Mahâbhârata contains allusions to Buddhism, which became dominant in the time of Asoka (about 250): indeed the mention of the zodiac proves their date to be posterior to the Christian era. Lassen compares the older Purânas with the Logographers. Their authors belonged to the sacerdotal caste, as did the authors of the heroic poems.[225]

We must, indeed, conclude from the above, that, if we cannot establish from extraneous sources the reality of the four great eras of Indian history, it is impossible to restore its framework at all. All we can hope is, that, if by any other means such a framework can be established, traces of historical matter may be discovered in these confused traditions and poetical narratives. It will never be possible to settle the main question, whether the four eras were historical, and what was the peculiar characteristic of each. There might possibly be a reasonable expectation of culling out from the confused

[223] Lassen, Masterly Criticism, i. 473 seq.
[224] Ib. 479. seq.
[225] Ib. 481. seq.

mass a few items towards filling up the outline which had been obtained.

There is one important circumstance which seems to justify such an expectation. Amidst all this confusion, the nucleus of these descriptions exhibits unmistakable marks of organic progress in the Arian countries which are successively introduced: locally, from the Indus to the Ganges country, and to Bengal (Behar); and intellectually, in the progressive establishment and working out of Brahminism.

It is clear that the first epoch of the Arian kingdoms in India only comprises the country of the Seven Rivers (the country of the five rivers, or Punjab); and to that locality also all the narratives of the first period refer.

The horizon of the succeeding narratives is as unmistakably the country of the Sarasvati, whence we are carried into the northern part of the Doab, or country of the Two Streams, between the Yamuna and the Ganges. It is also beyond a doubt that the passage of the Sutledj forms the commencement of a fresh era in the life of the Arians: here originated the institutions of caste and Brahma-worship. It may indeed at first sight seem questionable from these descriptions, whether not only the foundation and establishment, but also the decline, of the Arian kingdoms which were formed in Hindostan belong to this second era, or whether the decline did not take place in the third. Upon closer examination, however, we shall find conclusive reasons in favour of the former being the more correct view.

The removal of the royal residence to the confluence of the Sona and Ganges, that is, to Pataliputra (Palibothra), is the first step towards the extension of the empire to the frontier of Behar on the Ganges, beyond the Vindya mountains. It is at this last stage of Arian progress that we find all the kingdoms and heroes, immediately preceding the fourth and last era. There cannot be a sharper line of demarcation drawn than

between the third and fourth eras. The last three steps again seem in direct contrast to the first. The state of civilisation of India Proper and that of the Indus country are in such direct contrast to each other, that it would seem as though the primeval times were becoming constantly more and more alien from, and even antagonistic to, its later phases.

Now though we may choose in the first instance to leave the question in abeyance at this point, when and why the line was drawn between the third and second eras, still these so-called cosmic eras so obviously coincide with the progressive territorial extension, as well as local and historical epochs, that this in itself would induce us to suspect that, upon the whole, this history has not been tampered with to such an extent as modern Indian investigators, in their despair, seem inclined to assume. There is no evidence either that tradition had lost sight of the great epochs, or that they were pure inventions. On the contrary, our preliminary view is quite compatible with the admission or assumption that more recent events have frequently been substituted for those of ancient date, and that many incidents in the epic narratives are mere poetical inventions. Where detached ballads and the pedigrees of princely families are the only sources of information, genealogical forgery and myth will not be wanting; and where a new priesthood, founded upon a strict system of caste and a new mythology, holds the literature of a country in its hands, everything of more ancient date will be systematically falsified. This, however, is not inconsistent with the fundamental view which I feel myself called upon to entertain: that the cosmic eras are merely the most modern phase of this Brahminical adulteration; namely, a sublimated representation of the four real great epochs of Arian life in India, as it appeared originally to the imagination of the nation at large in the fourth.

We come to this same conclusion after examining more closely the story about the destruction of the world which is three times repeated. These mythic ages are notoriously separated by cataclysms of thousands of years. Now, if we regard the form of the cosmic ages in the light of mythical offsets of real eras, we may also assume that these descriptions of the destructions and eclipses of the world have also grown out of the fantastic versions of traditional catastrophes which really occurred in India during the first three epochs.

There are two facts which have not been made use of for the purposes of history, which convert this assumption into certainty, as well it would seem, as that of the four ages themselves. One is the account of Megasthenes as compared with the cosmic ages, which first come under notice in the Code of Manu, and with that portion of the epic narrative which is historical. The second is the history of the language and literature in the existing records. When instituting the former of these inquiries we shall also have an opportunity of saying a word about the synchronisms.

B.

THE FOUR SO-CALLED COSMIC AGES, AND THE THREE ERAS OF MEGASTHENES, WHEN THERE WERE NO KINGS.

According to Manu, the world had passed through three ages (Yuga); for about 5000 years, therefore, we have been living in the fourth. The synopsis is as follows:

Satya (Krita), 4800 years of Gods (reckoned each at 360 human years) - -	1,728,000.

Trêta	- 3600 yrs of Gods, each	=	360 human	1,296,000.
Dvâpara	2400 „	„	„	864,000.
Kali	- 1200 „	„	„	432,000.

In the first book of Manu (composed but little anterior to the Christian era) these names are explained as follows:

I. Truth	- -	prevailing Piety.
II. The three sacrificial flames	-	„ Knowledge.
III. Doubt	- -	„ Sacrificial worship.
IV. Sins	- -	„ Liberality.

Max Müller thinks, and Lassen agrees with him, that the original meaning of this was connected with the changes of the moon:

First quarter—second quarter—third—wane.

But the same idea might, nevertheless, be expressed, as is implied by the traditional explanation:

That the second period represents the zenith of the power and prosperity of India, which in the third began to decline, and in the fourth was still further obscured, and ultimately became almost evanescent.

The three critical questions we have to answer will, consequently, be these: Whether this originally referred to the epochs of Indian history, of which there are extant accounts; whether they correspond with the historical turning-points; and whether these can be pointed out.

The absurd Brahminical dates clearly refer to the equally unhistorical number of twelve thousand years, which, according to the modern Pârsee Books, is to be the term of the human race; after the fourth and last

period of which the redemption from the power of evil is to be effected.

The fact of there being an error of fully two thousand years in the calculation of the starting-point of the current era, is sufficient proof how little acquaintance the Brahmins had with the history of their own country. Assuming, as they have done for a tolerably long period, that this era commenced on the 18th of February of the year which corresponds with 3102 B. C., the reign of Sandrokottus, king of Palibôthra, the contemporary of Alexander and Seleucus, commenced in the year 1503 B. C. The date of Buddha, who is just as historical a personage as either of these two great sovereigns, is in precisely the same category.

But, modern and confused as these epic poems may be, we have no right to charge them with anything so absurd as this era. The best proof of the recent date and corruption of these poetical rhapsodies is furnished by the accounts of Megasthenes, the well-informed, and indeed learned, envoy of Seleucus Nicanor, who, after the short war with Sandrokottus, maintained friendly relations at the court of Palibôthra between Syria and India, and effected a matrimonial alliance. It is now perfectly clear, thanks to Schwanbeck's excellent arrangement of the fragments of his work, that the nonsensical stories there told about extraordinary animals, and men without noses or mouths, are taken verbatim from the Sanskrit traditions. It is true that we cannot give Megasthenes credit for much criticism; still we must do justice to the fidelity of his narrative. Arrian, in his Indian history, has, among other extracts, transmitted very valuable fragments of the lists of kings which Megasthenes found means of consulting; his statements, indeed, about the Indians themselves, were the principal source from which both the Greeks and Romans derived from that time forth all their information. We

are especially indebted to Lassen for having established their genuine character and importance.[226]

In following out the line of criticism which has been thus marked out, we must begin by restoring the text of the principal passage.[227] We find it there stated, in the first place, that between the reign of Dionysus, who

[226] Zeitsch. für die Kunde des Morgenl. vol. v. (1844), p. 232—259., remarks upon Benfey's attempt, in the same volume, to restore the list of Megasthenes. Lassen afterwards propounded the same views in his great work (i. 509. seq.), which Duncker has likewise adopted.

[227] Arriani Indica, ix. 9. p. 320. Did.: *Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διονύσου βασιλέως ἠρίθμεον Ἰνδοὶ ἐς Σανδρόκοττον τρεῖς καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ἔτεα δὲ δύο καὶ τεσσαρακόσια καὶ ἑξακισχιλία.* (The MSS., which are evidently all from one source, as appears from there being the same lacuna in each directly after this, have *τεσσαράκοντα*. In all the MSS. of Pliny (vi. 2.), which are, in other respects, independent, the number of kings is 153 (154), and 6401 (6402) years, the same number as Solinus (Polyh. 53.) also gave.) *Ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τρὶς τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἐλευθερίην . . . , τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τριηκόσια, τὴν δὲ εἴκοσί τε ἐτέων καὶ ἑκατόν.* There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this passage, when we compare it with the parallel passage in Diodorus. He says (ii. 38. end), at last, a long time after Dionysus, *καταλυθείσης τῆς ἡγεμονίας δημοκρατηθῆναι τὰς πόλεις*: and then a little lower down (c. 39.), after speaking about Hercules, the ruler in the 15th generation: *ὕστερον δὲ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τὰς πλείστας μὲν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατηθῆναι, τινῶν δὲ ἐθνῶν τὰς βασιλείας διαμεῖναι μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως.* Megasthenes, therefore, who was also Diodorus' authority, cannot have repeated Brahminical dreams about former ages and cataclysms, but simply stated that the succession of kings was three times interrupted by the overthrow of the existing dynasties, and the establishment of a republic. The first number, however, which is lost, must have been less than 300, as we read in the second part of the sentence, "even as long as 300 years." Now supposing the lost number to have been *διηκόσια*, the omission can be explained, and the sentence may be naturally restored, somewhat in the following manner: *Ἐν δὲ τούτοισι τρὶς* ΙΣΤΑΝΑΙ *ἐλευθερίην, τὴν μὲν ἐς διηκόσια, τὴν δὲ καὶ ἐς τριηκόσια, τὴν δὲ εἴκοσί τε ἐτέων καὶ ἑκατόν.* The word *ἱστάναι* is used as it is by Herodotus, instead of the ordinary one, *καθιστάναι*; the first two letters were left out because the copyist thought the repetition of the two preceding letters was a mistake. In this way both the word and whole passage became unintelligible, and an attempt was made to correct it with *ἐλευθερίην* by means of a preposition.

was succeeded by Spatembas, and that of Sandrokottus, there were 153 kings. The best MSS. of Pliny give the same number, as borrowed from the same passage. They are said to have reigned 6042 years; all the MSS. of Pliny have 6451, except one, which has 6452. The latter number therefore is better authenticated than that of Arrian, all the extant MSS. of which are copied from one source, as appears by the lacuna in this passage. There are a few words left out in the sentence quoted; but, as Duncker remarks, the meaning evidently is, that the succession of kings was three times interrupted by the introduction of self-government, which Diodorus, in two parallel passages, calls the establishment of a democracy in the separate cities or states. But, by a slight emendation of the text, the passage not only states so unequivocally, but subjoins also that the first of these periods lasted 200, the third as much as 300 years, and the last 120. All this reads rational enough. The critical conclusions we draw from it, in the first place, are these:

I. That the list of Megasthenes did not, as Lassen supposes, commence with the Trêta[228], or second age, but with the first, just like the Sanskrit accounts; for three breaks in the series of kings imply that there must have been four series.

II. That the whole series is considered as a single one, and indeed a purely Indian series, one complete as regards the particular one which went down to the Maghada empires, and in so far historical. The calculation of Megasthenes commences with the beginnings in the Indus country, and goes down to the accession of Sandrokottus.

III. That the mode of procedure here adopted is peculiar to this list exclusively. No other known Indian tradition contains any succession. What-

[228] Zeitsch. v. 254. seq.

ever may be the historical value of the number of the reigns and their duration, we know, at all events, what must be the greatest possible number, as we have a given date for the starting-point.

IV. That the interruptions in the monarchical series were occasioned by the extinction of some ancient royal houses, and more extensive royal kingdoms, the formation of which was always the aim of the Indian Arians, although they were never able to realise national unity. The consequence was periodical interregna, intervals of revolution and internal conflict, out of which new kingdoms sprang up. Revolutions of this kind must have either arisen from internal circumstances, or from attacks originating or directed from without.

V. That in examining the lists of princes which obviously formed the groundwork in Megasthenes' lists of the royal series, we shall have to consider the possibility, the probability indeed, of there having been lists of reigns contemporaneous with each other, which were incorporated into a consecutive series in India, as it is certain there were in Egypt. The mythical names and dates will also have to be eliminated.

VI. That we stand upon historical ground, and that we are not dealing, as in the case of the Brahminical computations, with purely fantastical inventions of worlds and world-eras. Yet, at the bottom even of these, there is obviously some matter of fact, and that too in many points which seem to be mere astronomical dreams, or the result of observations inaccurately made, or transmitted without reflection. We will take a single instance, the traditional change in the position of the seven stars in the Great Bear. I candidly confess my difficulty in believing that this is a pure invention. I refer it to an observation of the north pole, and the altera-

tion occasioned by it in the position of that splendid constellation, which would present as remarkable an appearance to the Indians or their authorities, as it did to the Phœnicians. Unhistorical dates are also not unfrequently mere stopgaps.

VII. That we must consider the term of a thousand years, adopted by Megasthenes for mythical reigns, or derangements in the royal lists which cannot be chronologically defined, as a mythical number. For it occurs at least three times in the old Indian history, as representing an undefinable lacuna.[229]

VIII. That the three dates of the interregna (200—300—120) are simply and solely the historical expression for these lacunæ, out of which the Brahmins have made catastrophes of 400, 300, and 200 years of Gods, according to what is obviously on the face of it a fictitious system.

IX. That should the conclusion be forced upon us that the list of Megasthenes also contains a similar mythical computation at the end of one of the first three periods, we shall be bound to discard them from chronological criticism, inasmuch as the whole term has been computed in the three historical dates.

X. That it would be unscientific to expect to find authentic chronology in his list, or any historical connexion in the Brahminical traditions. In the one case, however, we have, after the mythical beginnings, a succession of time progressive and historical; in the other a reminiscence of the fall of the reigning houses, which occurred three times, and of the great epochs of Indian history which were thereby separated off and defined.

Now it is obvious that this list must have included mythical names and dates, although traditional, and of

[229] Lassen, i. 709.; comp. 503.

genuine Indian origin, when we consider that we have 153 kings in 6402 years, giving an average of twenty-two years to a reign. The following synopsis will show what is the value of the historical matter in the first period.

Megasthenes stated that the first king was DIONYSUS. He found a rude population in a savage state, clothed in skins, unacquainted with agriculture, and without fixed habitations. The length of his reign is not given. According to Diodorus, he died in India. The introduction of civilisation and agriculture is a natural allusion to the immigration of the Arians into a country inhabited by Turanian races. Dionysus was succeeded by his colleague SPATEMBAS, who reigned fifty-two years, which term was assigned by Diodorus to Dionysus, whom he evidently considered a human king.

Spatembas was succeeded by his son BUDYAS, who reigned twenty-two years; and he by KRADEUAS.

Fifteen generations after Dionysus HERCULES reigned. According to the extracts from Diodorus he built several cities, one of which was Palibôthra. He had numerous sons, to each of whom he left an Indian kingdom; and a daughter, Pandæa, to whom he likewise bequeathed a realm.

Now all this is obviously pure Indian tradition. DIONYSUS is the elder Manu, the divine Primeval Man, son of the Sun (Vivasvat). He holds the same position in the primeval history of India as does Jima or Gemshid, another name of the primeval man, in the primeval Iranian world. According to Arrian, no human date of reign is assigned to him in the list of Megasthenes, as there is to his successors. Here then we have a reign of Gods, an epochal entry, the Indian term for which was a thousand years, recurring, as already stated, at least three times in these commentaries.

SPATEMBAS is the epithet of the younger Manu (Svayambhuva, the self-existent), who is looked upon

by the Indians as the progenitor of all their kings.[230] The fifty-two years allude to the fifty-two weeks of the solar year.

Budyas is Buddha (Mercury, son of the Moon), husband of Ilâ (Earth), who was daughter of Spatembas. It signifies "the awakened." The twenty-two years should be probably twenty-eight, the four weeks of the phases of the moon.

The present Sanskrit lists suppose the races of the Moon to be derived from him (*Kandravansa*), and from it the kings of Magadha (Palibôthra, Pataliputra, above Patna on the Ganges) are descended. On the other hand, in the books of Manu, the race of the Sun is descended directly from Manu. In the authorities of Megasthenes the two descents seem to be mixed up together. The race of the Moon would not give precedence to the race of the Sun (the kings of Ayodhya, Aud).[231]

Buddha was succeeded by Purûrava, which in Megasthenes must have been written Prareuas, instead of the present reading, Kradeuas. Purûrava means "the glorious." He appears in the Veda as a mythical personage, the husband of Urvasî, a celestial water-nymph (Apsaras, or Apsarâ, i. e. Undine). In the epics he is represented as a powerful ruler and great conqueror, who, however, perished in consequence of his own presumption. He was the author of the system of castes (from *varna*, colour, already mentioned in the Veda race[232], that is, difference of origin). Before his time there was only one undivided Arian people, and only one God was worshipped, Narâyana. His royal residence was Pratisthâna, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges (Allahabad). Here, therefore, we

[230] Lassen, Zeitsch. v. 254. [231] Ib., Beilage A. to Alterth. i.

[232] According to Haug, Varena means in Zend faith, religion. Morgenl. Zeitsch. viii. 766. n. 1.

have got beyond the whole of the earliest period of civilisation in the Indus country, with which the Indian reminiscences commence. The date of the settlement in the country of the Five Rivers, the formation of separate confederations into kingdoms, the advance towards Sarasvati and then into the Indian Mesopotamia (the Doab), on the most southern point of which Pratisthâna is situated, are all anterior to Purûrava.

It is possible that the whole of this may be unhistorical: but it is the general tradition, and therefore perhaps the tradition of the learned men at the court of Sandrokottus.

The first era commences, then, with an historical fact, the immigration of the Arians, with which is connected the ideal expression of the creation of man in various forms of one and the same myth.

Now what was the termination of this era? I think it is marked by the statement that the ruler in the fifteenth generation was no less a personage than HERCULES, who was especially worshipped in the country of the Surasêns. Lassen has shown that this again is not Greek fiction. The Indian Hercules is KRISHNA, the king in the land of the Prasians (the Easterns), with the royal residence at Mathura. It is possible that the notion of his posterity being descended from him and his own late-born daughter Pandæa is, as Weber thinks, a misunderstanding of the old myth of the creation of the world in connexion with a female. It appears also in the history of Pragâpati.[233] The historical sense is, that the renowned race of Pândava, with whose downfall the third era concluded, or perhaps even the princely house of Pandiva (Pandya), whose residence was Madura (the later Mathura) in the southern country of the Ganges, were descended from Krishna's daughter. According to Sir William Jones, in his

233 Weber, Ind. Lit. p. 212. note 2.; comp. with p. 133. note 2.

treatise on Indian Chronology (Works, iv. p. 209.), the sacred books expressly place an Avatâra between the first and second eras. This impersonation, however, which does not exist in the Vedas, is Krishna. Possibly also the third divine hero, Râma, the extirpator of the royal races, is introduced by way of demarcation between the second and third eras. Lassen points out this position of Râma as being an ancient tradition.[234]

It is clear that, according to Megasthenes, Hercules-Krishna did not form a starting-point. The statement that his sons governed various kingdoms, and that the Pândava (elder or younger), the heroes of the third era, were descended from his late-born daughter, would look more like a termination. This is also in accordance with the history of Krishna, as related in the Mahâbhârata.[235]

The first era, then, is represented by Megasthenes as having fourteen generations of human kings, with a God as the founder, and a God as the destroyer of the dynasty, in all fifteen or sixteen generations.

Now, if we compare with this view of the subject the Arian tradition under discussion, we shall find, instead of Krishna, some of the patriarchs of the human race.

In it, after Purûrava of the race of the Moon, in a line to which the ancestors of the kings of Magadha (Palibôthra) are said to belong, follows Ayus, whose son Nahusha (the man, human ?) is represented as being under the ban, on account of his overbearing character. Upon the death of his grandson, the highly honoured Yayâti, the partition of the world commences. He left his kingdom to his youngest son, Puru[236], and to his other four sons the rest of the earth.

[234] i. 501. note. "At the end of the Trêta-yuga, in Mahâb. i. cap. 2. v. 272., is placed the extermination of the *Ksatriya* by Parasu Râma."

[235] iii. 275. v. 15. 872. seq. Lassen, Alterth. i. p. x. note.

[236] In like manner, in Firdusi, when the earth is partitioned among the three sons of Ferêdun, the youngest, Iredsh, obtains the

YADU, father of the Yadava, the people of the South:

TURVASU, lawless races who were addicted to unnatural propensities, Mleḱha (hence the Beloochees): the Yâvana are also said in some of the books to belong to them:

DRUHYU, the progenitor of the inhabitants of the deserts by the sea, who had no kings:

ANU, the patriarch of the Northern people.

These four names are primeval; they occur in the hymns of the Rigveda in the same order. For our purpose the second and fourth are the most important. With respect to Turvasu, Max Müller has remarked in the "Outlines" that it seems to contain the tribal name of Turan and Turk. Turvasa, in the celebrated battle song of the Rigveda, the leader of the races who are the enemies of Indra, seems to be connected with it.[237] Originally, therefore, the Turanians are meant by it; so that from an Indian point of view the south-east of India might very well be assigned to this race, it being then inhabited, from the Vindya mountains, by Turanian races.

But the sovereignty of the North is assigned to ANU. If this means any historical tribes whatever (which is very doubtful), they might be the Bactrians, or people of the North of Mesopotamia, more especially therefore the Assyrians. At all events it is a remarkable coincidence that the first God and the divine ancestor of the Assyrian kings is called ANU.[238]

original home country, i. e. Iran. The two others, Selm and Tur, obtain the western and eastern countries; Tur, indeed, Turkestan and Tshin (China).

[237] Roth, on the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 94. In the Zend books the Turanians are styled Firdusi's TÛIRYA, i. e. the foes or antagonists of the Arians. Turvasu means "one who possesses the treasures of his enemy," and Turvasa "one who conquers when he pleases." (Haug.)

[238] According to Rawlinson, King Salman's name means "image of Anu," and Telani (the Telane of the Greeks), the cradle of the

Now, according to the Sanskrit traditions, the patriarch Yayâti reigned a thousand years.[239] Here then we have the same conclusion, but under different names.

The above remarks may suffice to prove the two points under immediate consideration: first, that the tradition of Megasthenes is really an Indian one, even according to the extant Brahmin traditions; secondly, that there is a break at the fifteenth king, in so far as the tradition of Hercules-Krishna forms the transition to a new race of princes. It is, however, still uncertain whether it is a simple break in the first period or the close of it. The Brahminical tradition would favour the former supposition, inasmuch as it evidently makes but one section in the first period with Yayâti. It contains a succession of names after Yayâti of Indian races, in the form of the hero of the same name, who is placed at the head. In the first place, for instance, Puru, in the list of the race of the Moon of Ayodhya (Aud), which has been already noticed. There was evidently a break at Puru. This, therefore, is the oldest genuine Indian name of a king, and from him a totally new world proceeds, acccording to the tables of the Moon-race, given in the Mahâbhârata. Yayâti, therefore, represents the interval between the era of the primeval world which is altogether unhistorical, and the Indian foretime proper. The name itself signifies "advancement, progress."

There can hardly be any history in all this, certainly no Indian history. It must depend upon the character of the sequel of the tradition whether the

royal house, "Anu's hillock." The comparison between it and the Merman teacher, Oannes, proposed by Rawlinson, has also struck other commentators. But as there is here no question about similarity, but the very name itself, and as the North must mean the Semitic Lords of Northern Asia, we consider it justifiable to notice the coincidence.

239 Lassen, Alterth. i. p. xviii. n. 4.

whole period is to be discarded, or be considered as a stopgap to a lacuna in the historical reminiscence of the real beginnings. We have, however, a right to regard it in the light of a clearly distinct First period. The connexion between it and the most ancient Indian kingdoms was expressed by 200 years in the list of Megasthenes. The first era, therefore, concluded with a kingdom in the Punjab, of which only very vague reminiscences had been preserved.

The second era in our Indian traditions evidently commences with the Sarasvati period and its kingdoms. Its great heroes are the BHARATA, and the Râmâyana is the epic representation of it and its violent end.

In the third, the Pan*k*âla (the five races), the conquerors of the Bharatidæ, struggle with the Kuru, and the latter again with the Pândava, after whose war of extermination the last era ensues. In the Vedas Pa*n*ka Kr*s*htayas and Pa*n*ka Kshitayas (the five agricultural countries, or the five habitations in the concrete sense) represent the Arian races and then the human race generally.

As the first era closes with Krishna-Hercules (according to Megasthenes), so probably does the second with Râma. As the Râmâyana is the epos of the former epoch, so is the Mahâbhârata the epos of the third. Here it is the princes themselves who, by their contentions, bring about their own downfall.

The mythical thousand years here intervene again, as in the former case, between one epoch and the other.[240]

It is needless to enter into any further proof of the

[240] From Haug's communication it appears that the period of a thousand years is mentioned in the late Pârsee books, and is called Hazâreh, i. e. Chilias; this is the time of the Prophets. Each of the three great prophets has his Hazârch: Osheder-mah (well-governing Moon), Osheder-bâmi (well-governing Dawn), and lastly Sosiosh (who awakens the dead at the last day). See. Haug, Gött. Gel. Anz., Dec. 1853.

correctness of these views, inasmuch as it does not lead to any chronology. We have only to bear in mind that the reminiscences of three long historical periods, full of great events and locally definable, offer a confirmation of these accounts. The length of the period we do not know, but the three intervening periods alone comprise together 620 years, according to historical, not epical, data.

If the conclusion to be drawn from these observations is that the cosmic eras were mutilated forms of real epochs, and the cataclysms were intervening periods of misrule, and that whatever historical matter the epic poems contain, be it more or less, is upon the whole circumscribed within the first three ages, and progresses organically during these — it will certainly be worth while to see whether it is really so hopeless a task to define the starting-point of the Fourth. The fact of the Brahminical starting-point, 3102 B. C., being in error by more than a thousand years at the time of Alexander and Buddha is sufficient to put them altogether out of the question. The only certain point is that *K*andragupta, the Sandrokottus of Megasthenes, ascended the throne of Palibothra in the kingdom of Magadha beween 320 and 312, and I have no hesitation in agreeing with Lassen that this event took place in 315. But how are we to proceed any farther? Certainly only by commencing from below, and calculating upwards.

C.

THE LISTS OF THE AGE OF BUDDHA DOWN TO THAT IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING SANDROKOTTUS.

SANDROKOTTUS overthrew the house of the Nanda. The Brahminical traditions respecting this royal house

are very confused and contradictory. The notices of the earlier dynasties of the kingdom of Magadha are impracticable in a chronological point of view, and sometimes the dates of reigns are omitted.

I. Bârhadratha Dynasty.

If we discard the first six of the first dynasty[241], who are evidently ancient chiefs of tribes, and refer with full confidence the real patriarch, Brihadratha, the seventh on the list, with his two successors, the great *G*arâsandha and his son Sahadîva, to the third age[242], and supposing there to be a great lacuna here, of which we find obvious traces, if we make our series commence with the so-called tenth king we get the following list.

It begins with Somâpi and ends with a King Ripun*g*aya. The latter is slain by his first minister, whose son, Pradyôta, ascends the throne, and becomes the chief of the dynasty which is named after him.

This list, as regards the chronology, is impossible throughout, and as regards history doubtful. Its object, evidently, was to make a continuation from the third to the fourth period, and it does not furnish the slightest intimation as to which of the successors of Somâpi was the first who possessed a kingdom — for it does not record a single act or distinct event connected with any one sovereign.

It is true that some of the registers have dates of reign attached to them, but which? The more complete list of twenty kings gives 924 years, and one of these reigns lasted 100, another 80 years, both being preceded and succeeded by long reigns. The smaller number is 850, making an average of $42\frac{1}{2}$ years to a reign, while the other makes $46\frac{1}{5}$.

241 Lassen, i. p. xxxi. seqq.

242 See Lassen's masterly deductions, as to the historical contents of the stories about *G*arâsandha, i. 607. seqq.

In the list of Matsya an attempt was made to get over these difficulties by reducing the sum total to thirty-two kings. But it is evidently less trustworthy than the list of the royal houses itself, and the discrepancies in the entries of years of individual reigns evince the ignorance and tampering of the compilers. Now, as all the Purânas make a thousand years to elapse between the great war and the last of the Bârhadratha, Wilson proposes to adopt this as the authentic date.[243] Lassen also thinks that there is nothing improbable in the lengths of reigns, with two exceptions. He concludes, therefore, that the list has come down to us in an incomplete state: yet, forsooth, the thousand years which are mentioned on two other occasions in the old Indian traditions, and cannot be considered chronological, approximated to the truth in this instance! I must confess that I cannot here agree with these two ingenious scholars. The thousand years, as we have seen, simply mean that the length of the interregnum is indeterminable. Even did we include the 120 years, the whole length of the interregnum, in that thousand, it would not mend the matter. After deducting them, there would still remain nearly 900 years, a term to which we should be compelled to refuse any credibility.

The purpose of some of the fabricators of the list, who added these unfortunate dates, was evidently a dishonest one, that of getting as near as possible to the mythical thousand years of interregnum. Yet none of them has anything to record in all these eight, nine, or ten centuries, not a word to say about twenty or thirty-two kings. And how stands the case with the names and succession? According to the Mahâbâhrata the predecessor of the last king (Ripun*g*aya, who was dethroned), who is called in the former lists Visva*g*it, is

[243] i. 700.; comp. xxxii.

identical with Ripungaya. The two predecessors of the supposed Visvagit, to whom forty and eighty regnal years are assigned, are omitted altogether in one of the lists, while they have totally different names in the others. From this I conclude that the genealogy of the kings of Magadha represented the Bârhadratha as their ancestors, in order to patch up some sort of connexion between the reigning house, previously to the interregnum and the end of the great war, and an ancient royal family. The addition of the regnal years was also a figment of later date.

The case of the following dynasties is not much better, although there is less discrepancy in the different lists, and they all give the regnal years.

II. Dynasty: Pradyôta, 5 kings - - 138 years.

Here commence the accounts of Buddha, and the Buddhistic lists have a claim upon our attention. According to them a king of this dynasty reigned in the time of Buddha at Uggayini (Ozene ?) whom he succeeded in converting.

The average of $27\frac{3}{5}$ years is obviously too high, according to the standard of the historical times of India, for us to accept it as authentic.

III. Dynasty: Saisunâga, 10 kings - - 360 years.

The corresponding Buddhistic list of the kings of Magadha must on no account be mixed up with this, there being, as we shall see, external as well as internal reasons why we should place implicit confidence in it. Yet it is externally corrupt. The last two kings, Nandivardana and Mahânandi, belong to the house of Nanda, indeed Mahânandi is clearly the founder of it, in fact he is the great Nanda himself. No critic need be reminded that reigns averaging 36 years are out of the question.

IV. Dynasty: Nanda, the founder, and after him his sons, successively, nine in number. Some of the lists assign to Nanda alone, some to him and his sons together (the only sensible proposition) - - - - - - 88 years.

In the Ceylon lists there is evidently some confusion here. They make Kalaśôka, the last king of the preceding dynasty, succeeded by nine brothers who reigned altogether - - - - - - - 22 years.

According to the commentary attached to this list, these nine brothers are the nine Nandas, which nine brothers, successively reigned, altogether - 22 years.

Some of the Brahminical lists assign 88 years to the father, 12 to the sons, in order to make up 100 years, which number is then very quietly placed in the ordinary chronological epilogus.[244]

It is hardly necessary seriously to sum up such entries as these. By way of example, however, we give the Purâna list (according to Lassen, i. 501.):

I. Bârhadratha	- 20 (or 21)	kings -	1000 years.
II. Pradyôta	- 5	„ -	138
III. Śaisunâga	- 10	„ -	360
IV. Nanda - -	9	„ -	100
			1598
The beginning of the Kali, supposing the accession of Kandragupta to be B. C. - - - - - -			315
			1913 B.C.

Under these circumstances Wilson and Lassen have given the preference to a Brahminical account which is wholly uncorroborated, and which is as follows:

1015 years elapsed prior to the accession of Nanda.

[244] Comp. Lassen, i. p. xxxiii. xxxiv., and ii. 63. seq.

This would give the following date for the beginning of the Kali:

Down to Nanda	- - -	1015 years.
Nanda's reign	- - -	88
Making therefore to the accession of *Kandragupta*	- - -	1103 years.
Consequently, B. C.	- - -	315
		1418

It must be admitted, that an isolated chronological entry, not based upon any dates of reign, however reasonable it may be in itself, is certainly evidence enough of the precarious nature of the lists. But that in itself would be sufficient reason why a critic could not place confidence in it, even were it not at variance with facts supported by other extraneous authority.

That it is so is apparent from the chronology of Buddha, the first certain resting-place beyond the time of Alexander, which we now proceed to examine.

SECTION II.

THE HISTORICAL DATA IN THE LATER TIMES OF INDIAN HISTORY, AND THE PRELIMINARY RESTORATION OF THE OLDER PERIODS.

A.

THE YEAR OF BUDDHA'S DEATH, 543 B.C., AND THE BUDDHISTIC NOTICES OF THE MAGADHA KINGS DOWN TO *A*SOKA.

Lassen, in his masterly treatise, at once ingenious and learned, has proved that the tradition of the Singalese is the only one worthy of notice. According to it, in the year 543 B.C. Buddha escaped from the curse of earthly existence by death, after having arrived at a full sense of self-annihilation (Nirvâ*n*a.)[245]

The task we are about to undertake is to show the possibility of establishing the true chronology from this fixed point down to *K*andragupta, or 315 B.C.

The Buddhistic list of kings, with which the most authentic accounts of him personally connect that great founder of a religion, is the list of the kingdom or house of Magadha, which was then seated to the south of Pataliputra, in Ra*g*agriha, so called after an ancient city to the north of Amritsir in the Upper Punjab. The house of Samudradatta, from Mithila (Vidêha), consisting of 25 kings, the last of whom was named Dîpankara, reigned there in the first instance. It was succeeded by the house of Bhattiya, called also

[245] Lassen, ii. 51—61. The objections advanced by Weber are insignificant; and his own view appears to me wholly inadmissible.

Mahâpadma, "abounding in stones," which was the Brahminical epithet of the first of the Nanda kings, the son of Mahanandi and a Sûdrâ.

But, as Bhattiya lost his independence, the dynasty commences with his son Bimbisâra, who reigned 52 years, and was succeeded by his son Agâtasatru, who reigned 32 years. The seventh king after Bimbisâra was named Sisunâga, who reigned 18 years, and was succeeded by Kalâsôka (with 28 years), whose son Bhadrasêna (with 22 years for himself and his nine brothers) was the predecessor of Nanda.

The most curious feature in this is, that we have three names in common. The founder of the corresponding Brahminical dynasty of Magadha, Sisunâga, is here the last but one, and, indeed, the overthrower of the previous dynasty, at the head of which stand Bimbisâra and Agâtasatru, there the fourth and fifth successors of Sisunâga (with 28 and 25 or 27 years of reign). Whatever explanation may be offered of the confusion in the Brahminical lists, the Buddhist tradition is proved to be in every respect the historical one. According to it Bhattiya became tributary to the king of Anga, but his enterprising son, afterwards King Bimbisâra, expelled the tax-collectors of the king of Anga, by whom the country was oppressed, defeated the king himself, and made Kampa, the capital of Anga, his royal residence until his father's death. The latter had made him king in his fifteenth year, which is a satisfactory explanation of the long reign of 52 years.

Now Bimbisâra was in childhood the friend of Buddha, and only five years younger. This entry, which is a purely biographical one, seems to me to deserve to be kept steadily in view. It makes the prophet 20 years old when Bimbisâra was invested with royal authority. Buddha himself was the son of Suddhodana, of the race of the Sâkhja kings of Devadaha, and styles himself the Sramana Gautama, the co-

lonist of the race of the holy patriarchs of the kings of the eastern country, Gotama, a name which occurs in the Veda as belonging to a celebrated family of minstrels. Now as Buddha only began to dedicate himself to serious reflection in his 29th year (the 10th of the reign of Bimbisâra), but became in his 35th year an awakened (Buddha), and died at 56, the twenty-first of his public teaching, the chronology would stand thus, supposing him to have died in 543, and that he was then 56:

			B.C.
Buddha, born -	5 years before the birth of Bimbisâra	-	- 598
„ retires (29) - - -	Bimbisâra 24 -	10th year of reign	569
„ appears as teacher (35) -	„ 30 -	16th „	- 563
„ dies aged 56 in the 21st year of his teachership -	„ 41 -	27th „	- 543

Now if Buddha died 543 B.C., the first year of Bimbisâra's reign must be 578 B.C. Lassen makes it 603, apparently at variance with his own data, and adopts for the Nandas the 88 years of the Brahmins. But this is obviously nothing more than the number required to make up the 100 years, as we find twelve years assigned to the sons. It is, at all events, an impossibility as representing a single reign, and that too the reign of an elected king.

The list is as follows: [246]

I. The House of Bhattiya:

1. Bimbisâra: reigns 52 years: first year B.C. 578
   Murdered by his son and successor - 527
2. Agâtasatru: reigns 32 years: first year - 526
   Murdered by his son and successor - 495
3. Udayabhadra (Udaya): reigns 16 years: first year - - - - - 494
   Murdered by his son and successor - 479
4. Anurudhaka (Munda): reigns 8 years: first year - - - - - 478
   Murdered by his son and successor - 471

[246] Comp. Lassen, ii. 63.

5. Nagadasaka: reigns 24 years: first year B.C. 470
Murdered by his successor - - 447
End of the dynasty of the Parricides.

II. The House of *Sisunâga*:
1. *Sisunâga*: reigned 18 years: first year - 446
2. Kalâsoka: reigned 28 years: first year - 428
3. Bhadrasêna and 9 brothers: 22 years - 400
The last of the brothers, Pin*g*amakha, was dethroned by Nanda - - - 379

III. Nanda and his sons. Nanda, who was not a person of princely extraction, rebels against Pin*g*amakha as leader of a local revolt, captures Pataliputra, and becomes king - 378
Nanda's younger brother is dethroned and murdered by *K*andragupta. Length of Nanda's reign 66 years. Last year - 313

IV. The House of the Maurya. *K*andragupta's accession - - - - - 312

The following is the historical value of these details. We have, in the first place, down to *K*andragupta, two series of rulers of the princely houses of the K*sh*attriya. Bimbisâra and his house (4 successors) reign 132 years, or an average of 26½ years. Of these, Bimbisâra reigned 52; having, as heir-apparent, been, after the conquest of *K*ampa, invested by his father with royal authority in his 15th year. This is a corroboration of the biographical accounts which we have followed above. It leaves 80 years for the four successors, an average reign of 20 years each. Beginning with the son of Bimbisâra they were all parricides. The family was not opposed to Buddhism, but remained Brahmins. A*g*âtasatru built Ra*g*âgriha, the more modern city of that name.

The second K*sh*attriya dynasty ascended the throne, when *Sisunâga*, as minister and military chief, in con-

sequence of the universal detestation of the parricidal family, slew the last king. The family itself was descended from a mother of inferior rank, who had been superintendent of the dancers of a king of Likhavi at Vaisali, and subsequently became his wife. His son is properly the first Asoka, but the Brahmins, from hatred towards the second who was the great patron of the Buddhists, called him only Kâkavarna, the Raven-black. He it was who removed the royal residence from Ragâgriha in the south to Pataliputra. He was succeeded by his eldest son Bhadrasêna, who is said to have had nine brothers, his successors.

The fall of Pingamakha, however, the last of these, is more important than the fall of the Bimbisâra family. Upon the accession of the Nanda, which now took place, there was unquestionably a stain in the royal blood. All the accounts, Brahminical and Buddhist, agree that he was a man of low extraction, and that there were no more Kshattriya kings. The former indeed aver that it was only the mother who was a Sudrâ, in order to keep up the connexion with the old royal family. One argument in favour of this is, that the last two Brahminical Sisunâga kings are called Nandivardhana and Mahânanda. But the whole list is untrustworthy. The Buddhist account, that Nanda was a man of great courage, who took advantage of a riot in his village to make a general arming of the mob, and then instigated them to take into their own hands the conduct of their affairs, is more credible. The people lent a ready ear; he declared war against Pingamakha, took Pataliputra, and became king. After *a brief reign* he was succeeded by his brothers.

The most difficult point in the chronology now remains to be considered, the age of Nanda. It formed an epoch, inasmuch as the computation of the 1015 years, from the beginning of the Kaliyuga, goes down to his coronation. He ruled over "the whole earth." We

have seen above that the Singalese registers of the Buddhists assigned to the sons of Kalâsoka 22 years, and to the Nanda brothers also 22 years, which is explained by a late commentator as meaning that the Kalâsoka brothers were the Nanda. Consequently this made 44 years. The Brahminical lists assign to Mahânanda (i.e. "the great Nanda") 40 or 43 years; and 12 to Sumâlya, the son of the great upstart (Mahâpadma). Our calculation makes it 66 years, which agrees as well as could be expected with the history, as far as we know it, and the above numbers. It requires more than some 20 years for an adventurer to form a great empire, and for the dynasty which he founded to be overthrown. Lassen prefers 88 years, a number to which our objections have been already stated, and one which must be rejected on account of the trustworthy statement, that the great Nanda's reign was brief.

*K*andragupta dethroned the last Nanda and took Pataliputra. After the murder of Porus by Eumenes, the general of Eudemus I., in the year 317, Sandrakottus, who was present, seems to have placed himself at the head of the popular party, to have taken immediate possession of the empire, and then to have directed his forces towards the Ganges. I agree with Benfey, therefore, in making the last year of the Nanda 313, and consequently the first of *K*andragupta 312.

This series of kings forms a bright spot in the history, and we are enabled to restore it with tolerable precision. Besides the Indian accounts we have always Greek synchronisms, either through the Seleucidæ or from the inscriptions of the Great Asoka.

To the kingdom of *K*andragupta (the kingdom of the Prasians, that is to say, of the Easterns) also belonged the Peninsula of Guzerat; it extended on the north as far as the Indus [247], and on the south its sovereignty was ac-

[247] Lassen, ii. 211. seq.

knowledged as far as the mouths of the Ganges, and the limits of Kalinga. His grandson and second successor was, when prince, viceroy over the *Ugg*ayini. He may be said therefore to have conquered the whole of Aryâvara. His forces consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 900 elephants. He died in the 24th year of his reign, consequently B.C. 289. He was succeeded by Vindusara, who reigned 28 years, consequently until B.C. 261. His successor, *A*soka, is the great Buddhist king. His inscriptions, in which the Buddhist doctrines are earnestly inculated, and the 84,000 Buddhist sanctuaries (*K*aitya), that is to say, partly temples and partly tumuli (Stûpa, whence Topes), which he is said to have erected, are in the present day the greatest monuments of Buddhism. He was crowned in Pataliputra in the third year of his reign (B.C. $\frac{259}{258}$), and openly seceded from the Brahminical to the Buddhist religion, converted, as it seems, by the son of his brother, whom he had murdered.

His reign of thirty-seven years was the meridian of the empire of the Maurya. Immediately afterwards (B.C. 225) the partition took place and its downfall ensued.

Having arrived at this point, we shall discontinue the adjustment of the chronology from below, and proceed to an approximate definition of the earlier epochs.

We have seen that Alexander found in India a great and mighty empire, which, although seated at the confluence of the Yamuna and Ganges, nevertheless protected the northern frontier.

We have seen that the age of Buddha is established, and with it that of Bimbisâra also, the chief of the dynasty which overthrew the kings of Pradyôta.

We can no longer calculate upon accurate chronology, but the question is whether we can determine the century in which, after bloody and destructive contests and a period of anarchy, the greater princely kingdoms are again found to exist.

B.

APPROXIMATE DETERMINATION OF THE REAL COMMENCEMENT OF THE KALIYUGA, AND THE PRELIMINARY LIMITATION OF THE PRECEDING PERIOD.

AFTER having established, reckoning upwards, a fixed point for the accession of *K*andragupta, by the year of Buddha's death, 543 B.C., and, through it, that the first year of Bimbisâra was 578, the earlier dates will stand thus.

Bhattiya, the father of Bimbisâra, cannot be included in our calculation from above, as we find no chronological notice about him; indeed, the imperial succession in Magadha clearly only begins with his great son.

We must consequently proceed with the Pradyôta kings. The 138 regnal years of these five sovereigns we cannot take for granted quite so readily as our predecessors have done, since we have found the Buddhist lists in a much better state than the Brahminical, and they only assign 68 years to this dynasty.

We have therefore:	B.C.
First year of Bimbisâra - -	578
Last year of the Pradyôta Dynasty (68 years) - - -	579
First - - - -	646

Prior to these is the Barhâdratha Dynasty of Somapi, down to Ripun*g*aya, said to be 20 kings. We have seen above that three kings at all events must be omitted. The harmony of the lists is certainly an argument in favour of the others. We accordingly suppose it to have consisted of 17 kings, who reigned on an average 20 years each, making consequently 340 years. From this we should obtain the following dates:

Last year of Barhâdratha (340)	-	B.C. 647
First „ „	-	- 986

But here we meet with another circumstance which requires to be noticed.

It is highly probable that during the interregnum the exiled princes of the Bârhadratha family continued their lists as though they still possessed the realms of their forefathers and kinsmen. The 120 years of the interregnum are consequently probably included in the general sum total of 340 years, which would leave only 220 for our computation.

In that case the calculation would stand thus:

Last year of Bârhadratha (220 years)	B.C.	647
First „ „	-	- 866

We shall consequently place the two limitations side by side.

The next step we are enabled to get over, at all events, by the aid of Megasthenes, in whose list of the time of anarchy (which intervened between the third and fourth periods) we find 120 years. According to the above computation, we obtain the following data:

Last year of Anarchy (120 years)	B.C.	987	867
First „ „ - -	-	1106	986

This would therefore bring the beginning of the Kaliyuga up to 986 or 866. We can no more doubt the historical character of the close of the third period, and consequently of the kingdoms of the Kaurava and Pandava, than we can believe in any chronology formed from such data. We may possibly be able a few years hence to compute, like Herodotus, by generations or average lengths of reigns; but we are certainly not in a condition to do so now.

This, however, is by no means requisite for our purpose; a reasonable approximation will suffice.

Now, as we have 120 years of anarchy after the third era, and 300 before it, and as we find at the close of the former a protracted war of extermination of the ruling family, we may safely conclude that we are within the narrowest bounds, if we set this epoch preliminarily at 500 years. Hence, the computation upwards from below would stand thus:

The last year of the third period, close of the great war after the battle at Kuruksetra -	B.C. 1107	987
First year of the Kaurava (500 years) - - -	1606	1486

Within this period, which is characterized by great exploits, by rigid Brahminism, and the gradual obduracy of absolute power after the total loss of popular freedom, we meet with the grand form of *Garâsandha*. He was the son of the Patriarch of the Barhâdratha, the Magadha-ruler Brihadratha, and grandson of Vasu, the proper founder of the family. With his son Sahadîva, the first section of the race concludes. As Lassen has acutely remarked, *Garâsandha* is the historical personage among the heroic kings of the Mahâbhârata.[248] The Pândava are already on the scene, and it was his wars and conquests which occasioned the great popular movement that took place immediately before the era of the five Pândava kings. He drove the Yâdava from their settlements on the Yamuna, and brought 86 kings prisoners to his royal residence.

It is a circumstance of twofold importance that this ruler belonged to the family which carries us down to the time of Alexander. He must necessarily have been entered in the list which Megasthenes obtained at the court of the sovereigns who were descended from him. His age, and everything connected with it, must

[248] Lassen, i. 602. seqq.

have been computed in the supposed 6402 years between the immigration of the Arians and the reign of Sandrakottus.

From our present point of view we can only say with regard to the date of his reign, that he must be placed at all events two centuries prior to the downfall of the Pándava. Between him and that closing event there intervenes the decline of the house of the Kaurava, and then the final struggle.

We may possibly succeed in making a closer approximation to the true date by means of an inquiry into the Indian synchronism of Semiramis.

C.

STAUROBATES AND SEMIRAMIS, OR THE INDIAN SYNCHRONISM FOR 1230 B.C.

Megasthenes was assured by the men of learning at the court of Palibôthra that Dionysus was the only conqueror who had appeared in India anterior to Alexander, neither Cyrus nor Semiramis having crossed the Indus. Although the latter had certainly made preparations for an expedition, she had died before they were completed. How much of this historical information was flattery to Alexander and his great generals, to the envoys of Seleucus, the King and Lord Seleucus, how much was sheer ignorance, is matter of uncertainty. A feeling of shame on account of the event itself it cannot have been, for the inroad of Semiramis was of short duration, and its termination most honourable to the mighty and brave king (Hhavirapati, i.e. resolute prince, or, more properly, Shorapati, "Lord of the Oxen") who soon drove her back across the Indus, and

it redounded also to the credit of the Indian people generally.

But the shadowy reminiscences of this great event, hitherto entirely overlooked, which our present Sanskrit sources of information would seem to contain, confirm the idea that the memory of it had really passed away. This certainly makes it highly probable that the vast abyss of desolation and confusion which divides it from the Pándava age (the third), intervenes between that inroad and the beginning of the present era.

The reality of that invasion is now indisputable. We know that Semiramis is no more a mythical queen, than her giant constructions are idle fictions. Duncker has had the tact and courage to follow out the views of Niebuhr on this head, and to make a stand against such contemptible prejudices.[249] The whole country on the right bank of the Upper Indus, the site of the present Peshawur, opposite Attock (Taxila), and still higher up, was tributary to the Assyrians, as it afterwards was to the Medes and Persians.[250]

Semiramis captured here, on the Kophên (the Cabul River, the Kubhâ of the Rigveda), the city of the same name, as we are informed by Pliny.[251] But the celebrated black obelisk from Nineveh in the British Museum, a monument at least of the 9th century B. C., establishes the payment of tribute, the Bactrian camel being found side by side with the Indian rhinoceros and Indian elephant.

Without attaching implicit faith to the monstrous numbers of Ctesias, and to his stories about camels dressed up in the garb of monsters, we cannot fail to recognise the historical truth in the account of Diodorus (ii. 16—19.). Semiramis fitted out an armament in Bactria, and crossed the Indus with a vast force. The Mahârâgâ

[249] Ar. Gesch. i. 282. seq.
[250] Arrian, Ind. i. 1.
[251] Nat. Hist. vi. 25.

of that day, the great "Ruler of the Earth," had taken up a position there also with a vast force, especially formidable from the number of his archers and elephants. At first he retreated, but soon drove back the Assyrians in total disorder to the river, which they had great difficulty in crossing after immense loss. Semiramis concluded an armistice, made an exchange of prisoners, and retreated into Bactria with a third of the army she had brought against India.

This Indian expedition took place in the latter part of the reign of that remarkable woman, consequently between 1235 and 1225. There must, therefore, have been a Samrâg, or supreme king, at that time in India, whose rule extended as far as the Indus. His seat of government must have been in the district to the south of the Sarasvati, in the country of the Two Rivers.

This circumstance, therefore, excludes, in the first place, the time of confusion during the interregnum, and consequently, the 120 years of Megasthenes. But, from what we have seen above, it will also exclude the first centuries of the new empire, the period of the younger Bharatidæ. In fact these sovereigns neither left behind them any records of glorious exploits, nor were they said ever to have possessed extensive power.

No such pretensions, indeed, were made by the princes of any other royal house. In order to prove this, we must enter into a little farther examination, and say a few words upon the race of the Kuru.

We can prove that a new epoch commenced in the Ayodhya line of the Moon race with the 17th king. The old race of Bharata died out with Samvarana.[252] The Kuru family succeeded, by which name some have understood the river Kur, others Koresh (Cyrus). Uttara-Kuru, as appears from the list of the patriarchs

[252] Lassen, i. p. xxiii. seq. n. 18.

of the family in their primitive home, simply means the most northern Kuru. Two entirely separate series are traced from the supposed King Kuru, of which that of the Purânas appears at the same time as that of the Pauravas, which was said to be connected with Kuru.[253] As regards the lists of the Mahâbhârata[254], I disagree with Lassen, who gives the preference to the longer one, the second, because it is composed in prose, records the names of the wives, and refers to the genealogical registers. Neither can I agree with Wilson that credibility attaches to it, because the epic narrative mentions an old Indian king, who, after hearing the shorter account of his ancestors, listened with still greater pleasure to the more detailed one, which commences with the founder Manu. I see nothing in this but a wish on his part to hear a great many fables and stories about the Gods; and it is not improbable that the author himself is the person who puts these words into the king's mouth. The first, shorter account, begins not with Manu, but Puru, and concludes with the last genuine descendants of Kuru. It contains also the names of the younger sons of the kings, and here and there adds a few historical remarks. This is the very reason why I think it must be the more ancient, and that the second, on the contrary, is fiction dressed up in an epic form.

The continuation of the royal list, indeed, beyond the genuine Kauravas, is open to grave suspicion, a suspicion common to this list and the Purânas. Lassen[255] himself admits that the names in the first simple list are repeated here, and the continuation contains some with remarks attached to them, seemingly of a symbolical, and consequently of an ideal, character — the great hero Arguna (the white), for instance, in con-

253 Lassen, p. xxiv.
254 Ib. i. p. 594.
255 Ib. i. p. 594.

tradistinction to Krishna, the black. The more simple list certainly does not profess to be a complete genealogy, for this remark is attached to the name of the first personal ancestor, Aviksit, the successor of Kuru, who is the representative of the Kuru people:

"Of the race of the sons of Aviksit, these were the most remarkable for their virtues."[256]

This is an honest announcement, and one which supplies a valuable clue to the criticism of the whole lists. The tradition was not coherent, or had ceased to be so before the date of the authorities to which we have access. We possess only the heroes of the race, not a continuous history. What appears to be so is mere arbitrary falsification of the later genealogy of ambitious royal houses. Lassen is in error in thinking there is a lacuna in the shorter list. The following names are precisely what they are stated to be in the words quoted above. They come in the following order:

I. Aviksit, with his younger brother Ganame*g*aya, and three others.

II. Pariksit, with seven brothers.

III. Ganame*g*aya with Bhimasêna, and five other brothers.

IV. Dhritarashtra (Stadtholder), with the brothers Pandu and Bahlîka (i.e. the Bactrian, from *Balkh*, the later form of the name of the city), and five others.

V. *K*undika, with Hastin, and three other brothers.

VI. Pratîpa, with two brothers.

VII. Devâpi, with *S*antanu and Bahlîka. The eldest of these three brothers retired, either voluntarily, or being compelled to do so by the Brahmins, and *S*antanu became king, it is said, after Devâpi had suffered himself to be led astray by false teachers.[257]

With these brothers the list closes. The sequel in the

[256] Lassen, i. p. xxiv. n. 19.

[257] Ib. i. p. xxiv. n. 21.

other list and in the Purânas is simply an arbitrary addition. The genealogy of the Pandu is appended to that of the Kûruidæ, Pandu being son of Vikitravirya, the second son of Santanu. From him descended the hero Arguna, as did his brave rival Duryodhâna from his elder brother Dhritarashtra, "and 99 others," in order to make up the number of the hundred Paladins. Then comes Pariksit and 29 successors, the last of whom, Ksemaka, "dies in the Kali," i. e. the pretenders to the crown of the Pandava race in the period of anarchy and afterwards, *ad libitum*. Nothing is recorded of them, but it is noteworthy that the 24th in the series is called Satanika, exactly like Pariksit's grandson (the third in the series), and his son Udayana, the name which, according to some authorities, was borne by the son of the elder Pariksit. The whole race is said to be begotten by Brahmins and warriors.[258]

There are many other proofs of the historical character of the kings of the older list. In the first place, the hymns of the Rigveda (only indeed the later tenth book) mention Devâpi and Santanu as brothers, the elder of whom embraces the sacerdotal profession, and becomes, according to ancient custom, the first Brahman (Purôhita, "President"[259]) of the king his brother. The old Vedic commentator, Yâska, mentions them as being sons of Rishtisêna. This cannot be said to be in contradiction to our list, which, as we know, only professes to record the great and celebrated rulers of the race. The third brother is not mentioned in the Rigveda, but the list states that when Devâpi retired Bahlîka obtained a vast empire. This must mean that he emigrated and became king of Bactria. As he joined Devâpi, the elder brother who was perverted by false teachers, Zoroastrianism evidently here comes into play.

[258] Lassen, i. p. xxvi. n. 26.

[259] Ib. i. p. 596.

The two lists agree as to these brothers, and they both mention a third brother, Bahlîka, the Bactrian, who in the shorter one appears under the name of the younger brother, Dhritarashtra. In both the immediate predecessor is King Pratîpa. In the former, however, the order of the common names is different: Bhimasêna is not the younger brother, but the king; Dhritarashtra is omitted, and only appears afterwards as elder brother of Pandu, and father of Duryodhana.

We possess, therefore, historical fragments of an age which was brought to a close by the war of extermination among the rulers of Kuru and those of the race of Pandu. There is no historical connexion between them, no historical synchronism, but there are indications of a religious schism which exercised an influence over Bactria.

It is equally impossible to connect the history of these two races with that of the mightiest people in the latter portion of this age, the Pan*k*âla, who, to judge from the situation of their country, probably immigrated before the Kuru.[260]

In the last period the Pan*k*âla also appear by the side of the Kuru in the great battle of the princes, the people of the five races, whose city, Hastinapura, in the Upper Doab, is situated on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi (Indraprastha), on the Yamuna. They were the most powerful people of that day, for they extended through the whole Southern Doab beyond Benares, as far as the river Karmanvati, which was for a long time considered the frontier line of the two tribes. To cross over it was an accursed thing; on the other side were the impure Turanians.

We were compelled to make this digression in order to show that the only king we have remaining is the Garâsandha of Bagadha, the Barhadratide, in whom was

260 Lassen, i. p. 598.

centred a vast imperial power at the time of the downfall of the then kingdom of India.

We have only to ascertain whether this imperial power extended in a backward or forward direction. The son of *G*arâsandha was Sahadîva, his predecessor was Brihadratha. The latter founded the empire; under the former it fell into decay. The father possessed powerful vassals, such as the king of *K*edi. He had princes among the impure races who were subject to him, from the eastern part of India, north-east of Palibôthra. Their foreign names are given by the side of the Sanskrit.

Even Bhagadatta, indeed, the king of the Yavana, the uncontrolled autocrat of the West, is said[261] to have bowed the knee before *G*arâsandha. The origin of the name of the Yavana must either be traceable to post-Alexandrian times, or be an ancient inaccurate designation of a people and state who pushed on towards the Mediterranean. To the northward the districts on the Sarayu and the Gomati formed a part of his kingdom.

He, therefore, must have been the king who opposed Semiramis on the Indus, or she was not opposed at all.

Assuming, therefore, the synchronism: *G*arâsandha = the Indian expedition of Semiramis = 1230 B. C., this makes his date precisely that which, from the Indian point of view, would appear the most probable.

Of the extent of the period anterior to him we cannot venture to form an estimate. But the power of the empire of the seven kings of the cognate race of the Moon, in Pratisthana, and afterwards in Hastinapura, from the reign of Pariksit to that of *S*antanu, must have gone back farther than *G*arâsandha.

We have during this period a schism connected with the history of Bactria, and the immigration into it.

[261] Lassen, i. pp. 551. 609.

Before proceeding to examine farther the connexion between these two events, we are anxious to offer another proof of the historical character of the *second* era.

D.

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE NAMES IN THE SECOND ERA.

If the whole Indian history, as embodied in the reminiscences of the people, be not a pure fiction, it follows from what we have already seen, that the second age must commence with the oldest accounts of the holy land of the Sarasvati. For here it is clear that the first establishment of the Brahminical system took place, between which and the religion of the oldest Vedic hymns there is a greater difference, in various respects, than there is between the religious systems of the Brahmans and Buddhists. Buddha was much more of a Brahman than the fathers of the Brahminical system were teachers of the old Vedic religion.

In fact, we find ourselves in the most ancient India, among the first race which stands before us as purely Indian. It is the race of the Puru or Paurava kings, to which in the time of Alexander two princely races belonged, on which account they were both called by the Greeks Porus.

In the Magadha Moon race, as well as in the royal series of Megasthenes, Puru follows immediately after the above-mentioned last patriarch to whom the partition of the world is due. In the first authenticated list of kings of the Mahâbhârata, there are but eight names down to Ilina, after whom there is an unmistakable gap, as we shall see forthwith. The

second list contains 17 kings after Puru, the last two of which are Tansu and ILINA, the predecessors of Dushyanta, with whom the first empire closes. Those names are obviously not to be considered a succession from father to son. For if, as we have seen, the list only contained names of great historical importance in the following period, it would still less represent a genealogical succession here. But it is so stated in plain terms, for it seems to refer occasionally to a king who is not mentioned in the list.[262] The following are the names:

I. Pravîra } third and fourth kings in the second
II. Manasyu } list.

It begins with Ganame*g*aya, who abdicates and becomes a priest. He was succeeded by Pra*k*invat, whose name implies that he was the conqueror of the East. He could not have been omitted in the first list, had there not been two separate Puru lines.

III. *S*akta.
IV. Raudra*s*va. Had ten sons, the eldest was: } In the second list 10 and 11.
V. Ri*k*eyu, with the epithet Anadrishti. }
VI. Matinâra, son. It is recorded of him, as it was of Ganame*g*aya in the first list, that he offered up many horses in sacrifice.
VII. Tansu, with a brother Druhyu, } both great conquerors.
VIII. Ilina. }

The old Anuvansa, which is cited in our list, has this passage (xxi. N. 13.):

"Sarasvati bore to Matinâra a son, Tansu: with the daughter of the king of Kalinga Tansu begat Ilina." In the first part we have a clear intimation that the country about the sacred Sarasvati was the centre of

[262] Lassen, i. p. xx. 8.

the empire. The story of the connexion with a kingdom of Kalinga (in Bengal) is clearly, however, an afterthought of later times. For many centuries after this there was no kingdom beyond the river Karmanasa, which was much more to the north, and falls into the Ganges a little below Benares.

IX. Dushyanta. The old tradition[263] very clearly states that, with this king, a race and a kingdom came to an end. His supposititious son Bharata, the father of Bhumanyu, is merely the name of the primitive race, which seems to signify in its first sense the globe. The country here indicated is Central Hindostan, the country of the centre (Madhyadesa or Aryâvarta, court of the Arians).

Here, then, we come to a second race and kingdom, that of the Bharatidæ, obviously only a governing power at a later period. The list is as follows:

[Bharata, the first ruler of the globe (*Ka*kravartin), who on that account is called also Sarvadamana (all-controlling) and Sarvab-hauma (world-governing), had a great many sons, all of whom, however, die off, i. e. do not establish kingdoms. Last of all he begets]

I. Bhumanyu, who (like Bharata) is also entered in the second list and the Vishnu Purâṇa as well as this one.

II. Diviratha.

III. Suhôtra, "conqueror of the whole earth; Lord of a happy kingdom." He had three sons.

IV. A*g*amidha — Purumidha — Sumidha. Several hymns in the Rigveda are addressed to the two former. Here Lassen admits that the second list is obviously adulterated, two kings being introduced between Suhôtra and A*g*amidha. The first of them clearly belongs, like the supposed patriarch of the whole list, Ganame*g*aya, to the next period, the kingdom of the Kuru.

[263] Lassen, i. p. xxii. n. 15.

V. Samvârana, succeeded by Kuru in both lists. Lassen has incontrovertibly shown [264] that the rule of the Bharatidæ ceases with Samvârana. The Bharata are driven from the Indus country westward by the Panchâla. Lassen has given the tradition word for word. We propose to examine it in conjunction with one of a similar character, in order to show that the separation of the periods by interregna, in which Divine vengeance exercises destructive power, is ancient and original. Before doing this, however, we will examine a little more minutely the list of the Râmayana which concludes with Râma.

This list of kings of the Sun-race of Ayodhya consists of 35. The first three we discard as mythical. The Vishnu Purâna states in regard to Anaranya, the father of Prithu (5), that he lived in Trêta, and conquered the Asura in the east; between him and Râma, therefore, 31 reigns intervene.

Of these we must at once strike out the 29th and 30th, Nahusha and Yayâti, the two patriarchs of the Moon-race. In the Vishnu Purâna, Râma, reckoning from Prithu (5), is the 58th. The harmony, however, between the two lists continues only where some coherent legend has preserved the continuity of the succession, which is not the case except in the following groups:

		R.	V. P.	
A.	Sagara - -	14	38	from Manu.
	Asamanyas - -	15	39	
	Ansumat - -	16	40	
	Dilîpa - -	17	41	
	Bhagîratha - -	18	42	
B.	Aya - - -	32	60	
	Dasaratha - -	33	61	
	Râma - -	34	62	

It must here be borne in mind that the Bharata name

[264] Lassen, p. 589. seqq.

occurs in the Râmayana only together with that of the successor, Asita (12, 13.), and not at all in the list of Vishnu Purâna.

E.

THE CLOSE OF THE FIRST TWO PERIODS IN THE OLDEST INDIAN TRADITION, AND A PRELIMINARY GLANCE AT THE CHRONOLOGICAL RESULT.

In order to prevent any misunderstanding, we repeat that we have not the slightest intention of establishing or corroborating any evidence in favour of the chronology by means of data taken from the epic tradition. The following remarks are only made with a view to directing attention to some noteworthy features in that tradition, as being facts the value of which is in the first instance left undecided, but which at all events have nothing to do with the nonsensical dates and theories of Manu.

It has been already pointed out that the great historical lacunæ in the succession of the Indian kingdoms have been indicated mythically by the old tradition. A thousand years are assumed, at the expiration of which a new section commenced. It is at the same time on record in the first two periods, that a God appears, who, during these thousand years punishes the overbearing and wicked in expiation of their crimes. The God, or hero, who performs these acts of vengeance is Hercules-Vishnu at the end of the first period, Râma, the hero of the Axe, at the end of the second.

There were also different versions of this break in the sovereignty of the princes. At the end of the second period mention is made of the break of a thousand years in the reign of the Bharata. The length

of the epochs is identical. A long historical order of things comes to an end, and everything is broken up in confusion. The style of the mythical record is different; but the sense is the same. They both imply that the length of the period of anarchy is undefinable.

The tradition about the descent of the Kuru from the Bharata, given word for word by Lassen (i. 590.), is as follows:

"To Riksu (the son of Agamidha) was born Samvârana, the patriarch of a royal race. During his reign there was great confusion. There were plagues of famine, of pestilence, and of war. The great conqueror Pankalya overcame him. Samvârana fled with his children and friends into the neighbourhood of the great river Indus, and pitched his tents in a wood on the mountain. Here the Bharata lived a thousand years in an inaccessible district. At the expiration of this period a holy man consecrated the Puruide as universal lord over the whole warrior race. The descendant of Bharata again took up his royal residence in the glorious city. Samvârana's wife, the daughter of the Sun, bore him Kuru, whom his subjects elected king, from his being well acquainted with the law."

We have accordingly a close with the thousand years, and then the election of a king, Kuru, belonging to the old race; i.e. a democracy during the interregnum. Now, if we examine the other tradition of the close of the second period, we find that the Axe-God Râma, Parasu Râma, appears as the avenger. We read of him in the Mahâbhârata:[265]

"Parasu Râma repeatedly destroys the pride of the warriors and the royal races."

Now as regards the Divine Avenger at the end of the first period, the Hercules of Megasthenes, who reigned fifteen generations after Dionysus and Spatembas, he is, as Lassen has shown, in every respect identical with

[265] Mahâbhârata, xii. 48. seq. Lassen, Zeitsch. v. 257.

Vishnu the Club-God. He, however, does not appear in the character of enemy of the royal race; whereas Râma in the next period overthrows it. He is represented on the contrary as the founder of the Indian kingdoms, as far as Pandæa in the south, the race of which is descended from him and his own daughter.

This is evidently the expression of a belief in the moral government of the world. The existence of this faith can be pointed out as early as the old hymns of the Rik, where Váruna punishes sin by disease and death, but Indra destroys the wicked. We must, therefore, consider as an ancient dogma the declaration made by Vishnu in the Bhagavadgîtâ[266] (in Christian times perhaps), "As often as Right slumbers and Wrong raises up its head, I create myself." It is eternal Divine Justice, by whom human affairs are kept in equilibrium, announcing herself.

Historical criticism accordingly concludes on various grounds that the four mundane eras of Manu are nothing but the fabulous sacerdotal offset of the eclipse of the traditions about four historical ages, that is to say, four states with successive interregna, which were really passed through. It is true that the first age contains only general mythical representations of the divine progenitors, with minute details towards the close. But this in no wise detracts from the reality of the period itself. We know, indeed, that the second period commences previously to the old settlement in the country of the Five Rivers, on the Sarasvati, the holy land of the Brahmins. There must consequently have been a long antecedent period commencing with the immigration of the Arians, and which implies that they crossed the Sutledj.

We subjoin, therefore, a synopsis of the epochs prior to those already established.

Calculating upwards from below we had arrived at the

[266] Bhagavadgîtâ, iv. 7. Lassen, i. 488.

year 1606 (1486) B.C. = first year of the Kuru (Kaurava), as the commencement of the third period, which, supposing it only to have lasted 500 years, extended to the year 1107 (987) B.C. In this period we have shown the probability of *Garâsandha* being the contemporary and opponent of Semiramis; therefore the age of *Garâsandha* = middle of 13th century B.C. Hence, we must place his predecessor, the founder of the line, at about 1280.

Immediately anterior to the third period there intervened, according to Megasthenes, a break of 300 years; consequently, the End of the second period was about 1900 (1800) B.C. If again we assume the most moderate term possible for the length of this period, we have in round epochal numbers, Beginning of the second period = 2400 (2300) B.C. That is to say; the beginning of the settlement in the district of the Sarasvati cannot fall later than about 2600 or 2500 B.C.

It is hardly necessary to remark that, to limit the length of the monarchical period to about the double of the intervening times of anarchy is by no means the most probable computation. The epochs in which the historical feeling was in progress must, in fact, be supposed of much longer duration than the interregna which caused the breaks between them. The remarks of Megasthenes upon the length of time that the dissolution of the kingly government lasted, and of the independence of the separate municipalities, give it an air of greater historical probability, from the fact of his stating of the first two that they extended to as much as 200 or 300 years. In speaking of the last republican epoch he uses a different phraseology; it was a period of 120 years. The earlier epochs of this kind lasted in one case longer, in the other a shorter time, and their longest duration was 200 and 300 years.

It is, therefore, highly probable that the second period did not commence later than about the beginning of

the third millennium B.C., so that we must assign to each of the two middle periods (the second and third) an average of about 300 years.

The approximate determination of the epochs will in that case take somewhat the following shape:

End of the third era about -	B.C.	1100—1000
Duration of this period 800 years		800— 800
Commencement of it therefore -	B.C.	1900—1800
Second interregnum prior to it		300— 300
Consequently beginning of 2nd inter.	B.C.	2200—2100
Second period anterior to it, 800 yrs.		800— 800
Beginning of second era therefore	B.C.	3000—2900
Prior to it, first interregnum of		120— 120
Consequently end of 1st period -	B.C.	3120—3020

Lastly, as regards the length of the first period from the immigration of the Arians into the country of the Indus down to their advance to the land of the Sarasvati, we have no standard whatever from our present point of view by which to estimate it. All we can say is, that peculiar habits of life were contracted in the land of the Five Rivers, and that out of the religion there instituted, allusions to which are found in the oldest Vedic hymns, the Brahminical system, with a new mythology, and the introduction of castes, gradually grew up on the other side of the Sutledj.

Hence, if we place the Arian immigration at about 4000 B.C., and add another thousand years for what was Arian rather than historical life, we shall certainly err again on the side of too great limitation, rather than of too great an extension of time.

This fact will be more clearly established if we form a correct idea of the vast difference between the oldest Vedic hymns and all other Indian compositions. For this purpose we will examine first the epochs of the latter.

SECTION III.

THE EPOCHS OF INDIAN LITERATURE, AND THEIR APPLICATION TO THE MORE ACCURATE DEFINITION OF THE AGE OF ZOROASTER.

A.

THE EPOCHS OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

AT the outset of these inquiries we have termed the history of language and of written composition the second main element of authentic chronology, and, to a certain extent, the touchstone of other computations. We now proceed to apply this element to the solution of our problem, commencing from below, and so proceeding upwards.

I. THE GRAMMATICAL AGE OF SANSKRIT, AND THE FORMATION OF PROSE.

STARTING from below, we have here, in the first place, PÂNINI, the founder of the present system. His age has been fixed[267] at - - - - B.C. 350

Before him stands YÂSKA, the author of the Nirukta (interpretation) of the Vedic tongue. This work is based upon Nighantavas (the organized), i.e. the collection of obsolete Vedic words, arranged according to contents, works which were obviously used in the schools. The first part of the Nirukta contains merely

[267] Weber's objections to the system adopted by Böthling, Roth, and Lassen seem to me of no weight. The authority is of recent date, but it is not encumbered with internal contradictions and unhistorical assumptions, like the Buddhist tradition, on which Weber bases his arguments.

an explanation of grammatical forms and difficult words; the second, the names of the Gods. Passages of the Veda are also quoted word for word. The grammatical expressions are so far perfectly simple; not a trace is to be found of the later artificial, almost algebraic, terms for the moods, tenses, cases, &c., which were in common use after the time of Pânini. There being this great difference between them, it is impossible to agree with Roth, who dates it only fifty years before Pânini. It must be at least - - B.C. 450

In his time the use of the Vedic texts in the religious services was already established. But the right understanding of many Vedic words and ideas was even then totally lost.

Before Yâska there were three older schools of grammarians (Prâtisâkhya[268]), which, being confined exclusively to the teaching of the pronunciation, established the rules of writing employed in the Veda. Assuming a century for these together - - 550

These grammarians, however, cite thirty others of earlier date, each according to their different schools, of the more northern or southern, eastern or western races, among which are the Kambôja, represented in the Hindu-Kush. Allowing only a century for them again, we bring down what is demonstrably the beginning of the grammatical age to - - - 650

By proving in this way the existence of grammar about the end of the second century and a half of the Bhâradrata period, which extended, as we have seen, from about 1000 to 650, the date of the formation of prose may certainly be placed in this obviously important epoch. The oldest Sanskrit prose we possess is in the Brâhmana, or books of ritual, and in the Upanishad, or philosophical treatises, the language of which,

[268] The Prâtisâkhya to the Rik has been in part published by Max Müller in his manual of the Rigveda. Leipsic, 1857.

on the whole, differs but little from that of the epics. Of the Brâhmanas, the oldest and most important is the Aitareya-Brâhmana, which is full of historical information, but unfortunately it is not yet published.

II. THE MOST ANCIENT EPIC PERIOD, AND THE DATE OF THE COLLECTION OF THE VEDAS.

THERE are at least two separate epochs, which can be clearly distinguished in the two epic poems. The latest extant version of them I should not be disposed to refer to an earlier date than that of the Asoka; it contains allusions which imply the existence of Alexander and Buddha. Weber, in his instructive lectures on the history of Indian literature, has shown that this is more decidedly the case with Manu's code, owing to the unmistakable allusions to the Buddhist nuns. Here, also, it will be necessary to institute a special inquiry, philological, philosophical, and political, in order to see whether we are justified in considering these marks of later origin in the two epics as interpolations and adulterations of the original text. My reason for thinking so is the high, and even political, position of the Brahmins in respect to their kings, which pervades the whole book. On the other hand, I should not be disposed to assign any very great antiquity to the nucleus of it, even if it be anterior to Buddha.

Now, as the original plan of the two epic poems goes down to the fall of the race of princes after the great battle of Kurukshetra, it is obvious that they must also have been composed in the Bharatide epoch. The 120 years of interregnum barely suffice to account for the complete substitution of mythical for historical and the predominance of the mythical. The eighth century, therefore, must be considered as the highest possible date that can be assigned to it.

The question is, whether the collection of Vedic texts to which the grammarians had access, belongs, even in part, to the earlier Bharatide epoch, that is, the beginning of the Kaliyuga?

We must here first of all eliminate the present fourth Veda—the Atharva. Manu does not mention it among the Vedas; therefore, the collection is of very recent date. As regards the contents however, one third consists of hymns which are common to it and the Rik; the other two thirds older hymns, side by side with those of more modern date, all in the Vedic language. It is consequently a supplementary collection, as was the tenth book of the Rigveda before the Atharva, and their contents are very similar.

Our collections of the three other Vedas certainly belong to the oldest period of the Kaliyuga; and there evidently existed smaller collections prior to these, especially of the hymns of the Rigveda. The date of the complete collection is generally supposed to be much older: namely, that to which the calendar at the head of the Vedas, from the astronomical references and data it contains, would seem to belong. This we have no hesitation in agreeing with Colebrooke and Lassen to be about 1400 B.C. But there is no proof that the calendar and the collection of Vedas were made at the same time.

There are, on the contrary, two points about which there is no dispute. First, that the compilers had completely lost sight of the original meaning of the old hymns, to a greater extent even than the compilers of our Book of Psalms had of the oldest psalms. They treat them as hymns made for the purposes of public worship, whereas it is clear that many of them, and in fact the very ancient, were not liturgical at all, but the outpourings of the free natural inspiration flowing out of the whole material life and the great events of the poet's

own time, and the experience of the tribe and of the people. Not only is the scene of these songs, the Indus country, unknown to the compilers, but likewise the religion. Brahma and Brahminism had dispelled the old religious ideas. The highest Vedic Gods, Agni, Váruna, Indra, had degenerated into Gods of the second order, into mere guardians of the world. The form of the language, lastly, is not only different and far more ancient, but the language of the Vedas is a living language; that of the compilers is more modern, but one already become petrified and obsolete among the people—a learned language.

The cleft between Vedic literature and Sanskrit literature is a vast one. It implies the occurrence of great events, that is to say, nothing less than the conclusion of either the second or third era. It is easy to show that the former of these is the only one possible. Sanskrit was a dead language already in the time of Buddha. He lived in the Sanskrit country; yet he did not preach in Sanskrit, but in Pali. A language does not die out except in consequence of some great events. Thus, the Hebrew became a thoroughly sacred language only after the Babylonian captivity; Latin ceased to be spoken by the people after the total dissolution of the Roman civilisation of the Western Empire, between 600 and 900. The word Sanskrit, indeed, signifies the complete, i. e. learned language, in contradistinction to the popular idiom.

No such event took place between the time of Buddha, when the written language (the Sanskrit, as the more modern Vedic) was demonstrably no longer spoken by the people, and the beginning of the Kaliyuga. But there is also a vast cleft between this beginning and the downfall of the earlier kingdoms—a period of 120 years without kings, preceded by protracted and destructive wars.

If, accordingly, at the close of the third era, Sanskrit must have ceased to be the popular language; this very third era must be considered as the period when it reached its zenith. This again implies that the Vedic language was extinct, and the time when it ceased to be the popular language must therefore be the close of the second era. When the Arians crossed the Sutledj, they took with them the language of the country of the Five Rivers. The Brahminical system sprang up. Different kingdoms were formed in the Doab. The old language of the Indus country gradually died away, and the new form, which was less rich, became the fixed popular speech, as contrasted with the Vedic, "the language of the seers." The name Sanskrit, "the perfect language," implies indeed the existence of an incomplete, i.e. popular language. Thus we have the following epochs:

Old-Bactrian Indus-language:
I. Popular language: First epoch.
II. Learned „ Second „
Ario-Indian Gangetic language:
III. Popular language: Third epoch.
IV. Learned „ Fourth „

The language of our Zend books is the Old-Bactrian of the home country worn down, that is, East-Iranian. It forms a contrast to the Vedic as well as Sanskrit languages. That of the first cuneiform character on the contrary is Median, or West-Iranian of a later epoch.

The organic law by which these changes were governed will be intelligible from the subjoined tables of parallelism. (Pp. 572, 573.)

The prominent feature here is the existence of a universal organic law—the greater toughness of a language in new settlements, as compared with its uninterrupted flow in the mother country.

The same type is also manifest earlier in Chamism, which became fixed in Egypt, while it expanded into Semitism in the mother country, and at a later period in the Anglo-Saxon of the fourth century A.D., as compared with the progress of Saxon in the German mother country.

The duration of a stage of language does not depend so much upon length of time, as upon the occurrence of great political and social changes and disturbances.

Immigration of the Norwegians into Iceland, about 880 A.D.

Mother Country.	New Country.
. . . . .	The oldest Edda songs.
The Scaldic songs in Snorro Sturleson, which refer to Norway.	The language of the Prose Edda.
Snorro Sturleson's Chronicle (about 1200).	
The Danish and Swedish heroic songs and ballads.	Modern Icelandic.
New Scandinavian language.	
Swedish. Danish.	

Immigration of the Arians into the Indus country, about 4000 B.C.

MOTHER COUNTRY.	NEW COUNTRY.
	First Era.
. . . . .	Oldest Vedic songs: the Old-Bactrian living language (*Kandas*).
	Second Era.
The language of the old Zend books (Bactrian), first stage.	Beginning of the formation of the later so-called Sanskrit language.
	End of the period: the Vedic language dies out.
	Third Era.
The second stage of language, the Median (inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ).	The Vedic language no longer the popular idiom. The stage of language afterwards called Sanskrit a living written language.
Parsee, as pure Persian: Pehlevi mixed with Semitic.	End of the period: the second stage of language dies out among the people. Beginning of the use of popular tongues (Prakrit, Pali) as written languages.
	Fourth Era.
Modern Persian.	"Sanskrit," the learned or perfect language, the universal written language; at the same time the living popular languages.

B.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE VEDIC TIMES AND THAT OF ZOROASTER, AND THE STARTING-POINT OF HIS DOCTRINE.

THE Brahminism of the Sanskrit books is the mythico-pantheistic form of Vedic naturalism, whereas the Zoroastrian books place a Supreme God above the powers of nature. Magism is an outbirth of later development common to them both. What the later Zend books are to Zoroastrianism, the Atharva-Veda is to Brahminism. Prayer has become a charmed formulary; thanksgiving, execration and curse; spirit, form; life, death.

But, in searching after the historical connexion, we soon lose our way in what appears impenetrable obscurity. Two very different paths present themselves. Proper original Zoroastrianism may be placed after the religious schisms which sprang up in the Indian life of the Arians. In that case the religion which Zoroaster found in existence is the old form of the oldest Brahminism on the Sarasvati. Or we may assume that the original Zarathustra founded a new religion before the migration into India, as a mere counterpoise to the earliest Bactrian naturalism, and that the Arians when they migrated carried with them this primitive Zoroastrian religion on their great conquering expeditions, the last scene of which was the Indus country.

The generally received opinion[269] that the Brahmins who migrated into India left Persia on account of the change introduced by Zoroaster is in this case altogether untenable. Upon such a supposition Persia would be as great an anachronism as is the idea of the Brahmins

[269] See upon this Max Müller's explanation in my "Outlines," iii. p. 112.

migrating. Even Burnouf himself seems to have given this up, by the admission that the Zend in its forms and grammar approached nearer to the language of the Vedas than the Sanskrit does.

But the question is, whether this compels us to adopt Max Müller's view, that the Zoroastrians left India in Vedic times. Apart from the fact that such an assumption is wholly at issue with the tradition of the migrations of the Arians, inasmuch as, instead of beginning with India, they ended with it; there is this difficulty which meets us at the outset, that we should be under the necessity of supposing a previous migration of the Arians to the Indus country, so that the one in question would have been a retrogression.

These are the reasons why Müller's theory has not met with any favour. The fuller explanation of his views has not yet been published. We will endeavour in the meantime to show what are the arguments which, according to our view of the case, may be adduced in support of it. From the information already supplied by Roth out of the Rik, it may be shown that there are allusions in some of the Vedic hymns to an antagonistic schismatic religion in the country; to one, indeed, the principle of which was fire-worship, then in force in the Punjab. We find the following in the war song of Vasishtha (v. 16.)[270]: "Indra struck down half of the men, the drinkers of sacrificial butter who repudiate Indra, the perverse. Indra repelled their fury with double fury: on his way the leader halted (ran straight away from him)."

Of the three Gods, Agni, Indra, and Váruna, it appears from other passages, that they worshipped only Agni, fire. The conflict took place on the Sutledj, and Sudas, king of the Tritsu, of the race of the Bhârata (iii. 3, 4. v. 11.), the worshipper of Indra, and sub-

[270] Roth, On the Lit. and Hist. of the Veda, p. 98.

duer of the heretics, was obliged to cross the stream to attack the enemy. The residence, therefore, of the worshippers of Indra was no longer in the Punjab, although they had friends and allies there. "Yamuna" (it is said, v. 19.) "and the Tritsu remained faithful to Indra." The battle itself was fought at the confluence of the two arms of which the Sutledj is formed. Among the enemy in this battle of the ten princes, as it is styled in another hymn, we find (v. 14.) the Anu or Anaver (the men of Anu), and the Druhju, who, being inhabitants of the north and west, when the earth was partitioned among the sons of Yayati, are mentioned together with the Turvasu (south-east) and Yadu (south). The enemy are the stronger, they are said to be like lions, and the friends of Sudâs weak and miserable. Here then we have hymns of the first age immediately after the passage of the Sutledj. The religion of the Arians, who went towards the Sarasvati, is not Brahminical. The sacerdotal minstrels are only inspired men, called Rishi or Kavi; singers bearing the latter name are subdued by Zarathustra in the Gâthâs. These hymns, therefore, belong to the later half of the Vedic period, that is to say, the beginning of the second era, an epoch which we think cannot be placed later than between 2500 and 3000 B.C. We must accordingly suppose that the minority returned to Iran. They may indeed really have done so subsequently. Mention is made, as we have seen in the last section of the third era, of a connexion between India and Bactria, and one founded upon a religious duality which was constantly in antagonism. Of the three brothers: Dêvâpi, Santanu, and Bahlîka, the eldest retired and went back again, the youngest proceeded to Bactria, or at least obtained his name "the Bactrian," from his connexion with the oldest seat of the Zoroastrian religion in the land of the Arians.

Such, according to that assumption, would have been

the state of the case at the beginning of the second era. In fact, it appears, from Haug's researches, that the oldest Zoroastrian writings, the Gâthâs or songs, were composed in the same lyric form as the Vedic hymns. The actual proof of this will be found in Müller's edition and explanation of the five Gâthâs of Yasna.[271]

There are other circumstances also which seem to favour this view. First, it is undeniable that the word for Gods in the Veda (Deva) is only used in reference to bad spirits. The great Vedic God, Indra, is in the eyes of Zoroaster an evil spirit, Aindra (Ander in the Bundehesh). In like manner Kavayas (from Kavi) signifies in Zarathustra's songs[272] the life-destroying servants of the Devas, evil spirits, whereas in the Veda it signifies the same as Risi, and is the name of the minstrels in the sacred songs. Hasma, indeed (Soma), mentioned in the later Zendavesta only in a good sense, has a very bad signification in the Gâthâs, namely, that of a charmed potion, by which the Dêva-worshippers acquired strength. This difficult passage is thus rendered by Haug (Jasna, 48, 10.): "When will they come, the men of courage? When will they pollute the intoxicating potion, by which black art the idol-worshippers obtain strength, and by the evil spirit of the countries?" This must, we imagine, be intended to mark the antagonism between Zoroastrianism and the religious system of India. Again, the forms of the Zend are decidedly younger than those of the Veda. Lastly, the mention of Herat and its river by the name of Haroyu would seem to be a transcript of the Indian name Sarayu. Haraquati, however, the name of Arachosia, is unquestionably the same word as Saras-

[271] Müller, loc. cit. p. 113., derives the name of Zend from *Kandas*, by which Panini designates the Vedic language, i. e. the metrical.

[272] Jasna, 32, 14. with Haug's note in his treatise on the Gâthâ. Comp. 46, 11.

vati. Indian names, therefore, were arbitrarily transferred to new localities; and the fact of the Zendic aspirate (H instead of S) being clearly of more modern date than the Indian would seem to be in accordance with it.

How is this to be reconciled with the only certain fixed point in the whole inquiry, namely, the fact of the Arian Indians having come from Bactria; and that India is not the mother country of the Bactrians, but, vice versâ, Bactria the mother country of the Indians? We must, perhaps, regard the consequences of that ancient schism somewhat in the following light. We must suppose three Arian sects to have existed during that epoch. First, to the eastward, the inhabitants of the Sarasvati district and the Northern Doab, who were inclined to Brahminism and the principle of sacerdotal caste. Then, to the westward, the emigrating Zoroastrians, or old Agni-worshippers, who adopted Zoroastrianism in Bactria under the influence of the inspiring minstrelsy and dogmas of Zarathustra. Lastly, between the two, in the Punjáb, the adherents of the Old-Bactrian natural religion, without its semi-polytheistic, semi-speculative, sacerdotal additions, which soon became predominant in India Proper.

We should then have further to answer the question, whether the schism in the Punjáb really went the whole length of Zoroastrianism (Müller calls the emigrants Zoroastrians), or whether it only paved the way for it, by the rejection of the Gods who were introduced at a later date, especially Indra, so that the real establishment of Zoroastrianism took place in Bactria? Now, from the fact of Zarathustra himself, the founder of the spiritual religion, as a Bactrian, appearing in the Zendavesta as the subject and friend of the Bactrian king, Vistâspa — the latter of these two views would clearly seem to be the only admissible one. In that case the work of Zoroaster was dovetailed on to the faith of the Arians of the

Indus country, who returned to Bactria, in such a way that he induced them to abandon altogether their natural religion, and adopt his ethical creed.

We here see at once the difficulty of the whole assumption. Zoroaster's work was called forth by an Indian schism. The exclusive adherents of Agni left the Punjab, and returned, in order to be converted by him to a new faith. For they knew no more of Ahura Mazda, the only good God, than the pre-Zoroastrian Bactrians could have known.

We gain nothing, therefore, by the theory of the retrogression, it only helps to make the explanation of the context more difficult. But if we look at the matter a little more closely, what necessity is there for adopting such a theory? Certainly not the circumstance of some Iranian localities being called by Indian names. For the fact of the Iranian forms being younger than the Indian is fully accounted for just as easily by the organic laws of secondary formations. The Norwegian forms, for instance, are new as compared with those of the Icelanders, who nevertheless were certainly Norwegian emigrants of the 9th century of our era. In the mother country the roots and forms of a language wear off, while the settlers retain the old element. But the original sense of the two common names was merely the general one of "rivers," so that it may have been applied to different rivers. But it certainly is a more natural supposition that this took place in Iran earlier than it did in India; for we have no reason to think that those Iranian countries previously bore other Iranian names. As little do we learn of the retrograde movement from India to Bactria. The immigration of the Iranian Arians into the Indus country is, on the contrary, an uncontroverted fact. How improbable it is, lastly, that the names of Iranian districts, which we find in the old record of the Vendîdâd, should only

have been given to them on the occasion of this imaginary return, as a reminiscence of the country from which they had been expelled! It is an assumption irreconcilable with any sense whatever of the above record of the Arian journeyings in Central Asia, and it offers no explanation of the origin of Zoroastrianism.

Now, if we allow this whole theory to pass, we fall into the dilemma above alluded to. Either Zoroaster founded his religion before the great emigration from Bactria, or about 1000 years afterwards. What is the argument in favour of the former? The language of the oldest portions of the Zendavesta, High-Bactrian, approaches very near to the Veda language, i.e. the oldest East-Iranian, which was preserved in the Punjáb, and between them there is, strictly speaking, only a dialectical difference. Ahura Mazda must originally have been pronounced Asura Medhah, i.e. living dispenser of wisdom; just as the ancient form of Haroyu (Herat) was Sarayu, of Haraqaiti (Arachosia) Sarasvati, of Hindu Sindu, and lastly Soma of Homa.

As regards the religion, the Agni or fire-worship, of which mention is made in the Vedic hymns, it must be considered as a remnant of the original pre-Zoroastrian doctrine, which, therefore, might have been the consequence of a recantation of the faith in Ahura Mazda and of the ethical principle, with the retention of fire-worship. The supposition that there were two Zoroasters, an original one, and one of more recent date who was the inventor of Ahura Mazda, is certainly inadmissible. The name of Zoroaster is inseparable from the doctrine of Ormuzd according to all the traditions, which doctrine is the distinctive mark of Zoroastrianism.

On the former supposition, therefore, the immigrating Arians were Zoroastrians who relapsed from the faith, although pure fire-worshippers. When they left Bactria the Gods were still called Dêva, which is in perfect accordance with the historical fact of the pre-

Zoroastrian period, that the Helleno-Italian races do not understand the word in any other sense. The genuine Bactrian Zoroaster, and probably his predecessors, the Old-Iranian fire-priests, applied the name to evil spirits, of whom Indra also was one, and by this application of it abandoned the usage of the primitive times. Even the Zendic writings show how deeply natural religion had taken root among the Bactrian Arians. Zoroaster had made the worship of nature subordinate to faith in Ahura Mazda. He did not extirpate it. Fire-worship, especially, continued to be a sacred symbol. The worship of Mitra, the sun, was not eradicated altogether from their religious consciousness; possibly indeed, as Haug supposes, the Armenian Anahit is really the female Mitra-Goddess of Herodotus, and her worship perhaps formed a portion of the Bactrian creed.

Where then is the great difficulty in supposing that when the Arians came into the country of the Five Rivers they had ceased to be pure Zoroastrians? For that is the conclusion to which we should be driven. In truth there is express mention made of three deviations from the true faith during the long course of conquest, the first of which, in early times, would seem to have been a very general one, whereas the other two merely consisted of holding in abomination the burning, and even burying, of the dead. There is nothing so easily lost as the spirit of a religion, the spiritual element of a creed. All the religions of the world have been spiritual at the commencement. But we can in this instance, more especially, understand the occurrence of such a relapse, considering the naturalistic feelings which prevailed among the Iranian people.

Zoroaster's attempt to reverse the ancient religious ideas, even to the extent of converting the old Light-Gods of the ether into evil spirits, was never thoroughly

carried out in Bactria. Some of the names of the Gods were retained. May not this practice have been abandoned when the Arians reached the Indus many centuries after?

In that case it is true that we should be compelled to assign a very high antiquity to Zoroaster. If the immigration of the Iranian Arians into the country of the Indus took place about 4000 B. C., we must fix the date of their emigration, and consequently pretty nearly that of Zoroaster, at least at 5000. But Aristotle and Eudoxus, the best of all the old commentators, agree in placing him very considerably later.

Lastly, the above-cited Zendic record of the journeyings of the Arians would in that case be strictly historical, if, as it would seem, it represents them at the time of their first movement as worshippers of Ahura Mazda.

With all this we cannot conceal the fact that the establishment of these views is not unattended with difficulties. But what is the objection to the second hypothesis, that Zoroaster was posterior to the emigration to the Indus country? In that case it would be perfectly natural that the Vedas should only use Dêva in its original sense, and know nothing whatever of Ahura Mazda or Asura Medhah. The circumstance of the whole tradition being connected with the revelation of Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra is no argument against it, any more than it is against the historical credibility of the traditional accounts of that migration, and its results themselves.

In the absence of further information, therefore, we must adhere to the conclusion which recommends itself as the most natural and simple. And thus the main theory is established:

That Bactria is the cradle of the Zoroastrian doctrine, and that Zoroaster belongs to a very early age.

We have tested and established the incontrovertible fact:

That in the year 1903 before Alexander, consequently B.C. 2234, a Median dynasty sat on the throne of Babylon, which it retained for more than two centuries, and that the first of these rulers bore the name of Zoroaster in the Babylonian annals.

At that time, therefore, the seat of Zoroastrianism was no longer in Bactria but in Media. It had already, indeed, taken a different shape from what we find in the old Zoroastrian records. Chaldee Magism certainly dates from the Median dynasty at Babylon. For in the Gâthâs of Yasna the work of Zoroaster is called Maga, and those who promote it Magava. But this "greatness," or this "great work," was really not the application of charmed formulæ and invocations, but it is embodied in the great precept; "the Trinity is thought, word, and deed."[273] What a difference between this and the Magism in vogue at Babylon B.C. 2234, and which afterwards doubtless was mixed up with old Semitic traditions!

Thus, if so early as twenty-three centuries before our era Zoroastrianism occupied such a very different position, none but those who pay no attention to what has taken place, and who see nothing in the great reality of history but empty phrases and formulæ, will find it an unreasonable assumption that the date of the foundation of the Zoroastrian doctrine reaches back between 4000 and 3000 years. True it is they may set up the absurd chronology which has grown out of rabbinical misunderstanding of the Bible against every other trustworthy tradition, and even against the Bible itself.

At all events we do not want any theory of a mi-

[273] Haug in Ewald's Jahrbuch of 1853, and in his "Zoroaster," in the Zeitsch. der Deutschen Morg. Gesell. 1855.

gration from India back to Bactria; so far from it, it would lead us into inexplicable difficulties and contradictions.

The Arian epochs therefore, upon the whole, will bear this relation to the chronology of Egypt:

I. The emigration from Sogd to Bactria and beyond it, after they separated from the rest of the Arian people who shaped their course westward, took place before B.C. 5000, consequently before the time of Menes.

II. The immigration into the Indus country, about 4000 B.C.

III. Zoroaster's reform in Bactria, about the time of Menes, or half a century later.

But as to any connexion between the Arian times and those of Egypt, we cannot assume that any such existed at all. Not only has Egypt nothing to do with the Arian movement, but the latter exercised no influence whatever over the Semitic mind in a religious or political sense before 2234. Moreover, the Iranian development, after the immigration into India, did not come into contact with the Indian. Lastly, the reform introduced by Zoroaster produced no schism among the Iranian Arians, still less had it any connexion with the migration which terminated in the Punjab. No reaction indeed took place from India upon Bactria.

The Vedic language is stereotyped Bactrian. The Zend is the continuation of this Old-Bactrian tongue in Bactria and Media, with two phases of which we are acquainted; one of them the language of the Zend books, the other that of the cuneiform inscriptions from Cyrus and Darius down to Artaxerxes II.

The Sanskrit, lastly, is the weakened prose form of the Old-Bactrian, the poetical form of which exists in the hymns of the Rigveda. These hymns were transmitted orally. Literature proper only commences with the

Sanskrit, and that, indeed, after it had become a learned language. Both Vedic and Sanskrit were, in the first instance, living languages spoken by the people, and Sanskrit only became the sacred language at the beginning of the fourth age, or about the year 1000 B.C.

This is the outline which has been gradually obtained, and in which the epochs of Ario-Indian development will take the following shape.

SECTION IV.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE EPOCHS OF ARIAN DEVELOPMENT, AND OF THE RESULTS OF THIS INQUIRY.

A.

EPOCHS OF ARIAN DEVELOPMENT.

I.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN IRAN.

A. The date of the Arian emigration from the north-east of the primitive land. Age of the end of the great Plutonic disturbances of the earth, and climatic changes. Formation of the stem of the Arian language in its most general sense B. C. 10000 to 8000

B. The date of the gradual separation of the Arian races (Germans, Slaves, Pelasgians) - 8000 to 5000

C. The date of the gradual extension of the Irano-Arian race in Central Asia - 5000 to 4000

D. The immigration into the Indus country - 4000

E. Zoroaster's Reform - - - 3500

II.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA.

First Era.

Life in the country of the Five Rivers, - 4000 to 3000.

I. The Date of the Oldest Vedic Hymns.

Conquerors live as conquistadores, as equals among

equals, as free-settlers (vaisya), in small districts. Here, in consequence of Haug's researches and the foregoing inquiry, we shall have to distinguish two epochs at least.

1. *Agni- and Váruna- Worship.*

a. There are many hymns extant in which Agni is extolled as the supreme God, or as the sacred symbol of the highest God, and in which the existence of fire-worship is implied. About a fifth of all the hymns of the Rigveda refer to him exclusively, and most of the ten books open with hymns addressed to Agni. Here we find glimpses of those elements which were developed in later times: by the side of the Agni of the earth, the Agni of heaven (Mitra, sun), and the Agni of the clouds (lightning) or water. The sacrifice to Agni consisted in melting pure butter in the fire.

b. Concurrent with this was the worship of the Vault of Heaven as a special deity, Váruna (Ouranos). In the most ancient times human sacrifices were offered to him, subsequently no especial sacrifice. Váruna, at a later date, was viewed rather in a moral sense. He is the eternal government of the world, physical as well as moral. He tries the heart and judges man. It may, however, be a question whether we have here two consecutive epochs, or merely two concurring elements.

2. *The Adoration of Ether as Indra (Zeus).*

There is no doubt that this belongs to a later time. It also has its own peculiar sacred symbol—the sacrifice of Soma, an intoxicating potion, consisting of fermented juice of plants mixed with milk. It is, however, a symbol also of human inspiration, and in so far the symbol of God as spirit. In this form, however, it reminds us of the Turanian Shamanism, the product of ecstatic excitement.

II. The Later Hymns of the First Nine Books.

This is the age when more extended political combinations were formed, partly republican and partly regal, in which the people had considerable rights without caste and without an especial priesthood. Possibly, the substitution of Indra-worship for that of Váruna may belong to this second epoch.

III. The most Modern Hymns of the First Nine Books of the Rigveda. Most of the Hymns of the Tenth Book.

Passage of the Sutledj: emigration towards the Sarasyati: a schism in two opposite directions. The section which worshipped Agni only and rejected Indra, and accordingly fell back upon Zoroastrianism, retained possession of the old settlements in the land of the Five Rivers. The other, which advanced towards Brahminism, predominated in the land of the Sarasvati, Modern India.

About - - - - B.C. 3300—3200

To these principal epochs of the first era succeeds:

The *First Interregnum:* Fall of the Arian power in the Indus country, consequent upon a war with the kingdoms on the Sarasvati, which lasted, according to Megasthenes, 200 years - - - -	200— 200
Beginning of second era - B.C.	3100—3000

About the year 3000 B.C., therefore, the schism must have taken place, when all India beyond the Sutledj adopted Brahminism, and the religious views, forms, and habits of Bactria were for ever abandoned. The monuments of the language of that period are hymns orally transmitted.

SECOND ERA.

The establishment of the religion of Brahma from the land of the Sarasvati as far as the Doab, from B.C. 3000 to 1900.

I. *Formation of the Kingdom of the Puru* - 3000
Movement eastward, and conquests (Matinara, Tansu, Ilina). Brahma supreme God and Brahminism. Complete system of castes. Retention of the Vedic worship. (*Hymns of this period?*)

II. *Kingdom of the Bharata* in the land of the Centre (Central Hindostan). Under Suhôtra, the third king in the list, the kingdom becomes powerful externally. The successor and younger son of Suhôtra is said to have composed hymns. After Samvarama, however, it ceases to be a kingdom, the Bharata being overwhelmed by the advancing power of the Pan*k*ala.

Length of the two periods at 800 years - 800

End of the second period of the kingdom - - - B.C. 2200

Then follows the *Second Interregnum:* the period when the rule of the princes on the Sarasvati and in the Doab was annihilated.

The anarchy lasted as long as 300 years - 300

Beginning of the third era - B.C. 1900

During the second age the composition of the Vedic hymns continued, but after that period the language ceased to be spoken.

Commencement of the smaller collection of hymns by families of minstrels, and consequently the probable date of the introduction of written composition.

Third Era.

Re-establishment of vast empires as far as Behar (Bengal): rigidity of Brahminism, - from 1900 to 987.

During this age (probably about the year 1400 B.C., to which the Vedic calendar points) the three books of the Vedas were made into one collection. The living prose language, from the beginning the language of writing, was the second phase of the formation of the Ario-Indian tongue, which, when it became subsequently a learned language, received the name of Sanskrit.

The duration of the third age, from 1900 B.C. onwards, is divided into two epochs, which are not susceptible of further chronological definition.

I. Supremacy of the Pan*k*ala and Kuru.
II. Power of the Pandava. Bloody struggle between the Kaurava and Pandava.

The whole duration, assuming it at 800 years, gives for the end of the third era (great battle of the princes in Kuruksetra) - - - - B.C. 1100

The length of the *Third Interregnum*, stated by Megasthenes to be 120 years - 120—120

Beginning of the Kali about - B.C. 980

Synchronism of the third era: the kingdom of *G*ârasandha and the invasion of Semiramis - 1230

This circumstance settles the question as to the date of the commencement of the Kaliyuga being placed earlier. After *G*ârasandha, the downfall of his kingdom ensued, followed by the murderous war of the princes of the Kaurava and Pandava. The third era must have lasted, therefore, till about 1100, and the Kaliyuga cannot well be placed higher than about 980.

The peculiar hymns of Atharva, annexed at the beginning of the next era to the older collection as the Fourth Veda, may belong to the end of this third era.

The date of the interregnum is that of the formation of the more modern Arian popular languages, and, consequently, in the first place, the Prakrit, as a contrast to which the sacerdotal-royal learned language received the name of the Perfect or Sanskrit.

FOURTH ERA.

From the formation of the new realm of the Magadha down to *K*andragupta, - from 986 to 312

I. The dynasty of the Barhadratha occupies the throne towards the end of the interregnum - - -	986 B.C.
Reign of 17 kings at an average length of 20 years, making 340, therefore until - - -	647
II. The Pradyota dynasty. Commencement - - - -	646
Length 68 years: End - -	579
III. Beginning of the reign of Bimbisâra, the son of Bhattiya - -	578
Buddha appears as a teacher, aged 35 - - - -	563
Death of Buddha - - -	543
Last year of King Nagadasa -	447
IV. Beginning of the House of *S*isunâga -	446
End of reign of the last king of the House of *S*isunâga - -	379
V. The Nandas, beginning - -	378
Length of reigns of the father and his sons 65 years, to - - -	313
VI. The House of the Maurya. Beginning of *K*andragupta - - -	312

As the Indian literature of the Veda language (that is, the popular language of the first era) commences about the end of the second era, so the literature of the Sanskrit language, the popular language of the third

era, commences in the fourth. As early as in the Atharva Veda we find passages in prose. The poetry probably commenced with songs descriptive of the Foretime. But we can only conjecture that it existed from the fact of such songs being worked up in the two epics. The most ancient portions of them, however, may also be Vedic, i. e. composed in the Old-Bactrian language. The epics themselves cannot well be placed earlier than the 7th century. In their present extent and form, however, they certainly belong to a period little anterior to Alexander. Their strong Brahminical colouring precludes us from placing them later in the brilliant age of Asoka.

The Prose epochs, according to the above, are as follows:

1.	The prose pieces in the Atharva, and the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda -	900 800
2.	Later portions of these formations till about	700
3.	Oldest grammatical works - - -	650
4.	Complete grammatical system - -	350

The last result relative to the history of Indian literature may, therefore, be stated somewhat in the following manner:

Sanskrit is the learned language of the Brahmins of the fourth era, but was originally the deposit of the popular language of the third, as contrasted with the Veda or Old-Bactrian language of the Indus country, which ceased to be spoken at the end of the second era. When the hymns of the three old Vedas were collected, the oldest written composition sprang up, and the second phase of it was avowedly a contrast, as the popular Arian tongue. Midway between the two stands the Iranian-Bactrian or Zend, which might, therefore, be called Middle-Bactrian, if the whole development on both sides the Hindu-Kush be considered as one.

B.

EXPLANATION OF THE LIST OF MEGASTHENES OF 153 KINGS IN 6402 YEARS.

WE are now arrived at the point from which we may proceed with some confidence to restore the accounts of Megasthenes, and to examine the degree of historical credibility to which they are entitled.

The tradition ran in this wise:

That according to authentic statements 153 kings reigned in India in 6402 years, ending with Sandrokottus, and during four ages, which were interrupted by democratical interregna of 200, of 300, and of 120 years.

It is needless to repeat that there can be no question about restoring the true chronology of the Indians by means of this list. But we must not overlook the fact that it stands alone amongst all the foreign and native accounts of India, in giving a chronology which is considered as consecutive, and a certain connected number of reigns, followed by three successive breaks; the separate years of reign being also noted. The sum total of these regnal years, moreover, was not a round number, but an historical one, 6402 years.

The first or mythical age, the list of kings and dates of the Arians in the Indus country, according to the facts adduced above, will stand thus:

	Years.
Beginning; Manu-Dionysus - - -	1000
End; Krishna-Hercules - - -	1000

Between these intervened thirteen human reigns, the first three of which, however, were mythical, and consequently had mythical dates annexed to them:

	Years.
Brought forward -	2000
Spatembas, as the solar year - 52 (weeks.)	
Budyas, as the moon - - 28 (days.)	
Prareuas-Purûrava (rising sun) x.	
We do not know the date that was assigned to him, but it naturally was mythical; none of the names can be historical till after him; at all events the dates of their reigns are expressed in numbers which corresponded to human reigns. Supposing the whole 13 to average 23 years each, we get about - - - - -	300
Sum total -	2300

We have - -	6402
minus - -	2300
and there remain -	4102 years.

Now we do not know whether this was a section of the first age, or the very close of it. We are without any further details.

But upon analysing the extant lists of kings of the royal house of Magadha we find that, according to our present Brahminical accounts, there were about 48 reigns in 1600 years down to the close of the Nanda (reckoning the kings of that race as ten reigns, although they only comprise two generations). In reality, however, we have only about 32 kings, who reigned 553 or 673 years.

The beginning and end of the list, therefore, (the first and fourth age) must have comprised about 65 kings and 3900 years. There remain consequently, for the two middle ages, 88 kings in 2500 years, that is, on an average,

44 kings and 1250 years for each age, and an average length of reign of 28 years.

In this computation we presume that the text of Megasthenes is to be understood as though the 620 years of the interregna, when there were no kings, are not to be comprised in the 6402. If, on the other hand, we deduct the 500 years of the first two interregna from the 2500 years which are to be placed to the account of the middle ages, and we cannot exclude this alternative, we have on an average,

44 kings in 1000 years with an average length of reign of less than 23 years.

It has been already mentioned that the extant Brahminical lists assign more than this number of kings to each of the two middle ages, and that we may consider 800 years as the probable date.

Now, as our computation is based upon the extant Brahminical lists of kings of this very kingdom of Magadha in which Megasthenes obtained his statistics, we may conclude that in the main the calculation is correct. At all events it appears from the criticism of the list of Megasthenes,

That the document we have before us is not a description of mythological developments, which were not worked up into the shape of narratives about historical kings and events until a later period. The older Indian computation, after deducting the first age, which was almost mythical, stands upon an historical basis, in tampering with which the Brahmins made it nonsense.

But we may also set it down as proven :

That here, as well as in Egypt, the Greeks obtained a more satisfactory reply to their rational inquiries after a chronology, than the one which our Brahminical authorities were able to extract from their records.

It is clear, at all events, that, in addition to the individual personages, circumstances, and events, which are

decidedly historical, down to the very latest tradition, this fundamental one has been preserved:

That the history of the Arians is computed by series of royal reigns, with continuous reference to the contemplated unity of one Indo-Arian kingdom; but that this regal succession was interrupted by three long epochs of anarchy, when the regal form of government was suspended.

All this is compatible with the existence of much that is unhistorical and uncritical in the details.

C.

HISTORICAL RESULT OF THE RESEARCHES INTO THE ARIAN BEGINNINGS.

We will first analyse the purely chronological result.

The oldest records and traditions of the Bactrian foretime, and of that of the "Five Rivers" or Indus country which grew out of it, are in harmony. We mean by this the record of the wanderings of the Arians, of the immigration to Bactria from the primitive country down to the immigration to the country of the Five Rivers east of the Indus; then the oldest traditions of the Zend books, of which the hymns only can be referred to Zarathustra himself; and, lastly, the historical hymns of the Rigveda.

If the Zoroastrian religion were Median as early as the 23rd century B.C., and were advancing towards the second stage of language as compared with the Vedic, Zoroaster the Bactrian cannot be placed later than 3000 B.C. Nor can we venture to place him further back than 4000, if the immigration into India cannot have taken place earlier than this period; and conse-

quently the exodus to the south of Bactria cannot be placed higher than 5000. But neither can it be placed later. For between it and the passage of the Indus, not only must the conquest of the intervening countries have taken place, but twelve vast countries were gradually peopled, and kingdoms founded on the road towards India; besides which a body of settlers pushed on to the Caspian, and laid the foundation of what was subsequently the Median kingdom, and through it of the Arian kingdoms of Persia, which grew out of Media. All this part of Asia became so thoroughly Arian by the expulsion or extermination of the aboriginal Turanian populations, that it has remained so to this hour, the nucleus of it at least, as being the oldest inhabitants.

This fits in most conveniently to the framework of general history, which the facts connected with language have obliged us to extend to nearly 20,000 years B.C., and which Egyptian research has enabled us, counting from below, to carry up to the oldest Pyramids, and even to Menes, i. e., up to the time when Egypt was a united kingdom with an established written character, consequently almost to 4000 B.C.

Now there existed, prior to the year 4000 or 5000, the following epochs of Arian life, counting from below:

First, the epoch of the common life of the Arians in its widest sense, that of the Iranians, Greeks, Italians, Germans, Slaves, and Celts. The existence even of the oldest of this series, the Celts, implies that the Semitic and Arian element was entirely separated, that the western and eastern polarisation was complete.

Secondly, the epoch of this very separation and the migration from the primeval country.

Now if our reasons for dating this exodus at about 9000 or 10,000 B.C. be sound, there will be space enough for the most colossal of all linguistic formations, the Arian, to its very zenith (that is, the Vedic which

they brought with them out of Bactria), but not more than enough.

That gives us the framework for the place of Egypt on this side, reckoning from below.

But our researches into the Arian Origines are no less important and decisive as regards the task of establishing the internal position of Egypt in general history, and with it the oldest epoch of Asiatic civilisation since the great catastrophe in Northern Asia.

The two great formative branches of the human race, the Semitic and Arian, exhibit indelible marks of their common origin, in language and religion, in the reminiscences of the antediluvian foretime, and the civilisation of the primeval world, which were interwoven into the traditions of each.

Each commenced a course of independent development, by which humanity was raised one step higher, at the very point where Egyptian civilisation, when considered as a portion of the general progression of the human race, became stationary.

As their condition prior to the separation was stereotyped in the valley of the Nile, so Babylon forms the point of junction for the separate Arian and Semitic systems of religion and of thought.

The strongest influence exercised over mankind by Magism emanated from Chaldea, though its origin was Arian, that is Zoroastrian. We can find no root for *Mag*, the Magian (the mighty), in Hebrew or Chaldee. The reason why this influence was so strongly exercised by the Chaldee arose partly from its more western position, and partly from the preponderance of Chaldean astronomy and astrology over those of the Arian as well as Old-Egyptian populations.

The great historical position and influence of Abraham, the Hebrew, belong, at all events, to a later age than Zoroaster. But not only is there no indication of the race of Abraham having been affected by the modifica-

tion produced in the old natural religion of Asia by means of Indo-Bactrian minstrels and founders of religious systems, but everything testifies to the contrary. There is no certain proof that the Zendavesta contains a single Semitic idea, or single Semitic word,[274] nor even the name, indeed, of a single country peopled by Semitic races.

In order to complete our Arian researches we have only to cast a glance at the traditions of the Pelasgo-Hellenic Arians of Europe.

[274] The only word which it is possible with any certainty to refer to the Semitic is *tanûra*, oven, stove; in Hebrew, *tannûr*. But the Semitic origin of even this is doubtful, and the first mention of it occurs moreover in the Vêndidâd.

PART VIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE HISTORY OF THE IONIANS IN ASIA MINOR, AND THE ANTIQUITY OF THEIR NAME.

THE AGE OF THE IONIAN HISTORIES AND REMINISCENCES PRIOR TO THE OLYMPIADS.

THE reasons why, after the restoration of Egyptian chronology, it is impossible to suppose that the epical story of Troy was composed as late as 1200 B.C., or earlier than 1500, must be reserved for the concluding part of this work. Upon an impartial review of the Homeric question, it will hardly be maintained that it could have required less than from three to five centuries to obliterate so entirely the feeling of historic reality which must have taken place, when the author of the Iliad, that is, the principal portion of it, ventured to deal with the popular legend in so poetical and unreserved a manner.

But the chronological questions immediately connected with the Egyptian dates of the New Empire must be brought under discussion at once.

They are three in number; the date of the name of the Ionians on the Egyptian monuments; the date of the Ionian settlement in Asia Minor; and the possibility of explaining and restoring the epochs of maritime supremacy which Diodorus borrowed from Castor, and Eusebius from Diodorus. It is notorious that a thalassocracy is there mentioned which it has hitherto been impossible to deal with and to explain.

A.

IS THE NAME OF THE IONIANS FOUND ON THE PHARAONIC MONUMENTS OF EGYPT?

THIS question has been investigated with great ingenuity in the most recent treatises upon the subject, both

from the Egyptian and Hellenic point of view. I once thought (mainly owing to what Salvolini had said about the hieratic spelling of the name in the Sallier papyrus) that this was the case. My opinion is now decidedly changed.

After the researches that have taken place, Egyptologers are agreed that in the time of the Ptolemies the hieroglyphical name of the Greeks was the same as the demotic and Coptic. At that time they were never called anything but UININ, UIININ, which must be Ionians, like IUN (Hebr. YAVAN).[275] The three baskets placed one over the other in the Rosetta stone, and in the two corresponding bilinguar inscriptions at Philæ, which in the hieroglyphical writing follow after the Phonetic hieroglyphics UI (or even AU), must consequently be read phonetically, NN. It shows, however, the introduction, in this period of decline, of the most arbitrary innovations, for here the basket is phonetic. It reads NEB or NIM, and signifies either *lord* or *all*. The motive for this innovation is not difficult to divine. The rulers of Egypt prided themselves on being of Hellenic extraction, and so they coined the basket into a phonetical hieroglyphic, as N, but respectfully intimated, at the same time, that the Greeks were their masters. This, however, did not preclude them from affixing to the name the old and very contumelious determinative of foreign people, the stake or gallows. De Rougé has called attention to another circumstance which helps to explain it. We find on the Pharaonic monuments of the best times (as will be minutely entered into below) a scutcheon containing a list of peoples, with only two signs in it, the papyrus stalk (the symbol of Lower Egypt, and sign of

[275] According to the phonetic law given in the First Volume, the I may originally have been sounded at the beginning, so that the most ancient pronunciation may have been IUINN.

the countries and people to the north of Egypt), and the three baskets. De Rougé observes, and I think with great truth, that this must signify, "the northern people all," or "the northern lords." He thinks it, therefore, very natural that, in expressing the names of the Hellenes in those flattering terms, they had this old scutcheon in view. It may also explain why the name came to be written with those two signs only, on a stela at Memphis of the very latest Ptolemaic age. "The northern lords" were intended to represent the idiographic sense of Hellenes. Any person conversant with the language would know the pronunciation of it from the demotic.

Now the simple question at issue is, whether this authorises us in concluding that the name of the Ionians can be identified on these Pharaonic scutcheons. Lepsius, to whom we are indebted for the first complete statement of facts in the paper read by him before the Royal Academy at Berlin, on the 19th of July, 1855, an epitome of which was given in the Reviews of the day, thinks it does authorise us.

The learned author has argued the point with his usual ingenuity, but still I cannot acquiesce in his conclusions.

The facts are these: The scutcheon with "the northern people all," is found at the head of a list of names of eight countries, beginning with Upper and Lower Egypt, and usually, indeed as early as the time of Tuthmōsis III., concluding with a name which refers to the Libyan Shepherds, and which Lepsius now reads MENAT NU MENT.[276] In another sepulchral inscription of the reign of Amenōphis II. other scutcheons follow, but the above

[276] The last scutcheon but one must also, we think, be a northern, in fact, a Libyan one. Lepsius considers it a southern one, on account of the second sign and dark complexion of the men. But this complexion suits the Libyans perfectly, though they have never for that reason been considered a southern people.

eight never recur, except in the time of Tuthmōsis IV. and Amenōphis III. Whatever may be the conventional signification of the combination of the two Egypts with foreigners, either conquered or tributary nations, nothing seems more natural than that they should all be headed by the general designation of northern races, as being just as much lawful subjects of Egypt as those tribes whose names are afterwards entered separately. I think that a confirmation of this opinion is furnished by the fact of the Kesh (Ethiopians) being, in the time of Sethos I., mentioned after the above nine scutcheons as the first of the southern tribes whose names follow. On the monuments of the former great sovereign, at Gurnah, these southern names come immediately after the scutcheon of Upper Egypt, but the northern, with the scutcheon which we read "Northern people all," after that of Lower Egypt.

The same thing occurs upon the whole on the monuments of Ramses II. and Ramses III. On the buildings erected by Sheshonk at Karnak, lastly, where there are 140 scutcheons, containing names of countries, they are headed by the two Egypts; then come the southerns; and after them the northern people. The whole concludes with the general scutcheon, to assert, as it were, a sort of claim even to those who are not mentioned by name, like the *et cetera* in the titles of sovereigns of the present day.

Lepsius thinks that in every instance this general scutcheon means the Ionians, which, hieroglyphically, seems to me inadmissible, and, historically, neither demonstrable nor comprehensible.

I feel bound, therefore, to express my conviction that the name of the Ionians is not found on the Egyptian monuments of the Pharaonic times with which we are acquainted. All the conjectures and conclusions which have been based upon such a theory must consequently fall to the ground.

B.

DATE OF THE IONIAN SETTLEMENT IN ASIA MINOR.

I. The Antiquity of the Name of the Ionians in the Bible and Central Asia.

As regards the Yavanas, the corresponding Indian name for the Greeks, which is also brought again under discussion, it would be better to pass it by altogether without notice, as there are other indications that all the passages where it occurs are not only post-Buddhistic but also post-Alexandrian.

There still remains the testimony of the genealogical table in the Book of Genesis. We shall show elsewhere that the nucleus of this table, the Aramæan reminiscences, is of very ancient date, but that the details about the non-Semitic families immediately succeeding this Abrahamitic original cannot go back further than the Jewish horizon of the tenth century. This is evident also from the notices about the particular members of the race of Iyun or Yavan. This, however, as a general name of a race, is primeval — it is found in the time of the Achæmenidæ in Persia, and in the Book of Joel, the Seer of the tenth century.

II. The Primeval Times of Ionia in Asia Minor.

Here again the best evidence is the native evidence, that of Ionian history itself. Niebuhr was the first to point out that the ordinary view was untenable of the Ionians having only come there, after the Doric migration, through the Attic settlers in Ionia. It is clear from the narrative itself that they found most of the cities already in existence, the foundation of which is ascribed to the Codridæ, and of which the league of the twelve Ionian cities was composed.

That settlement, when reduced to its proper proportions, is not on that account the less historical. It as

certainly dates at earliest from the middle of the tenth century (950–930), not the middle of the eleventh, as Lycurgus does from the time of the first Olympiad, and not two centuries later.

There is nothing which dovetails better into this chronology, as now restored, than the Maritime supremacy of the Pelasgian Ionians from 1060 to 975. We must bear in mind here, as everywhere else, that the Ionians were a sea-faring people on the coast. The Pelasgi, the masters of the country in their rear, were supreme by land. They had established friendly relations with these races, the "divine Pelasgi" of Homer, to whom they bore a closer resemblance in language, religion and written character, than to the barbarous Karians and all the other tribes. Doubtless also they had settled long before in the neighbouring islands. There seems, however, every reason to suppose that their road there also lay along the coast. Starting from Phrygia they got to the Euxine, or Bosphorus, and into the Propontis; being expelled thence, or probably in search of a more genial climate, they gradually reached the Hellespont and the northern point of Ionia, the bay of Smyrna.

These earliest movements belong to the Hellenic foretime, as the Argonautic expedition with Jason (that is, the Ionian) at its head is placed in the Hercules epoch, that is to say prior to the second millennium B.C., nearer to the year 3000 perhaps than 2000.

There is no other way of finding room for the primeval times of Minos. We require indeed this space of time for the Trojan war and the old Æolian settlements which succeeded the fall of Troy and the kingdom of Teucer, as Niebuhr has clearly stated. As the background of the Attic settlements in Ionia was the primitive life of the native, i. e. Asiatic, Ionians, on these, then Pelasgian, coasts; in like manner the historical Æolian colonies were merely a junction with the earlier settlements of mixed Achæan races, who lingered in the

Troad after the fall of Ilium, and thence dispersed among the islands.

It would be labour in vain to attempt to bring this ancient time within the pale, by applying the reduction of the dates, which had been raised at least a hundred years and appeared at latest in the time of Lycurgus, to the enumeration of the generations down to the Trojan war. They contain too many mythical names indicative, not of generations but of epochs. The Trojan war was not later, but earlier, than the Greek computation of it.

There are many reasons for supposing that the great chasm in the Grecian dates occurred immediately before the expedition of the Heraclidæ. Down to that point it has been evidently the aim of all modern writers, as noticed by Niebuhr, to extend the ancient dates. But as we have seen throughout, and in conformity with the general character of primitive reminiscences, this tendency to extend the dates is preceded in the earlier narratives by the opposite tendency to contract them. Great isolated events and isolated elevated personages, separated by many centuries, are brought nearer to each other from the absence of any thing worth recording in the intervening space.

How could the stories of the fall of the great Pelasgic city of Troy have been so altered in the memories and songs of the Ionic people, as to enable one of the vast geniuses of the human race to create the nucleus of the Iliad in about the year 900 (later it could hardly be, and certainly not earlier, namely, a generation or a generation and a half after Ionia had gained her independence by the aid of reinforcements arriving from Attica)? How could rigid Pelasgism in religion and customs be so rapidly lost and gradually merged in Ionianism, as was the case early in the tenth, possibly even in the eleventh, century? Lastly, what was the connexion between the great Pelasgo-Hellenic struggle

in the Troad and the supremacy of the Ninyads in Asia Minor which commenced in 1260? The Assyrian dominion was still paramount about 1150 (Eratosthenes' date of the Trojan war): 1230, the date of Thucydides, is even more impossible.

Its historical date, however, may be the middle of the second Millennium, and that of Minos from 2000 to 2500. At all events the period from 1270 to 1200 is impossible, that of 1184 is equally so.

Now it is clear that during this whole period we must consider the great body of the Ionians to have been settled on the coast, as they gradually pushed on towards the Mediterranean. They never were Pelasgi, any more than the Germans were Scandinavians; but there need not on that account be much more difference between the two former languages than there is between the latter.

That marvellous and ancient monument of Grecian genius, the figure of the weeping Niobe on the rock of Sipylus in Magnesia is assuredly also Ionian, for the Grecian soul breathes in it already, as evinced by the drooping head and folded hands—an expression of feeling never found among Asiatic barbarians, any more than it is among the Egyptians. It is not the Egyptian, however, but the Phrygian, which forms the background of art, in statuary as well as architecture. This was specially pointed out by Leake in 1828, and by Ainsworth in 1842, in respect to the Treasury of Atreus and the Lions at Mycenæ.[277]

The intercourse between Egypt and the Ionians extends, as we have seen, at least as far back as the earliest Olympiad, 100 years before Psammetichus. It was disturbed by the invasion of the Ethiopians and re-established by Psammetichus the Great after he had put an end to the anarchy.

[277] See the excellent article on Phrygia in Pauly's "Alterthumswissenschaft" (v. 1569. seqq.) by Otto Abel, a talented youth so early taken away from us.

But the Ionians must have traded with them, during the supremacy of the Pelasgi by land, and gradually have expelled the Phœnicians, if Zêt at the beginning of his reign could think of making use of their assistance in fitting out his fleet (of which there are many indications), and of granting them permission to establish a factory at the mouth of the Bolbitine arm of the Nile. For on the spot where, according to Strabo, the Milesians in the time of Psammetichus built "the Milesian wall," we must suppose the factory of the 8th century, the old Naukratis to have stood, if we may venture to call it by such a name. At that period, cut off as Egypt was then from all external communication, the later city of Naukratis, far inland (Nomos Naukratites) in the neighbourhood of Sais, is of course out of the question.

This strengthens very materially Niebuhr's arguments against Wolf's assertion that the art of writing was of recent origin among the Greeks, because it could not date farther back than the time of Psammetichus, owing to their inability to obtain any papyrus from Egypt before that time. He has shown that there is no authority for the notion of the Egyptians having so strictly prohibited all foreign trade before his reign, that the Phœnicians at all events traded with them, and thus the Greeks might consequently have bought papyrus from them. We now, however, learn that, after the year 770 at least, the Ionians had direct communication with them, that is to say, a century before Psammetichus. And why should they not have had it considerably earlier, indirectly at least, through the Phœnicians? But as regards the Egyptians, a papyrus leaf fastened inside the lid of the tomb of a Nentef (7th Dynasty), with a Hieratic inscription upon it, has been discovered!

C.

THE PELASGIANS IN CASTOR'S SERIES OF MARITIME POWERS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND THE RESTORATION OF THAT DOCUMENT.

Restoration of the Historical Epochs of the Thalassocracies, from the Period after the Fall of Troy down to Olymp. 74, 4.

Niebuhr has left the 36th chapter of the first book of the Chronicle of Eusebius untouched, so that there is still something new for criticism to glean. Nor will such a gleaning be of trifling value should we succeed in restoring the connected series of Castor's epochs by means of the epitome of Eusebius, now for the first time accessible in an authentic shape. We think this is possible, and we hope here to establish briefly, but conclusively, the proposed restoration, so as to place the Egyptian epochs on a firm basis, and to illustrate one of the most obscure points in the history of the New Empire, and its relation to the Ionians.

We shall first give the text, and with it the notices in Syncellus, thankfully availing ourselves of what Mai has introduced in his second Roman edition from the Vatican MSS. of Hieronymus.

Our restoration, in accordance with the views of Scaliger, of Selden, and of Heyne, starts with a twofold assumption. First, that these are not extracts from the different books of Diodorus' history, but a connected epitome made by Diodorus from Castor's two books about the powers which possessed the supremacy at sea. We shall return hereafter to the proof of the former of these assumptions (which may be called self-

evident). The second assumption is that Castor gave us in this account a chronologically coherent series of the maritime powers. Upon the latter point, however, it is necessary to come to a thorough understanding at the outset. Castor, as a man of sense, could not compose such a series upon any other principle than that of making his repertory of the more important maritime powers in the Mediterranean (not merely the Ægean as Egypt and Carthage testify) in such a manner that the new epoch at all events did not begin after the previous one had ended. The beginning of an epoch must have been marked by some epoch-making event, but the date annexed to it does not express the real time that the maritime supremacy in question lasted; simply the interval between the commencement of it and the commencement of the next. Incidentally, indeed, the end of one might coincide with the rise of another, in which case the assigned date would give the length of the first. Here, therefore, the critic must take into consideration each particular case. For instance, the last epoch, the maritime supremacy of the Æginetæ, ended naturally in the year before the memorable one of the Persian expedition. In this case, therefore, the date expresses the real length. The following year saw the rise of the Thalassocracy of Athens. The same must also be true of the 30 years of the Egyptian maritime supremacy, judging by the history of that country at home and abroad. This is the only reason why 45 years were assigned to the Carthaginian supremacy, because that of the Egyptians sprang up in the 46th.

But we are not to suppose that the term "Thalassocracy," during this whole period, was meant to imply any general supremacy at sea. Nothing of the kind existed until the Romans were masters of the world. That of Athens, even, was restricted within very narrow bounds. It is much nearer the truth to say, as Heyne has remarked with his peculiar historical insight, that

all it means is, that at a given time a given city held the supremacy by sea, whether for the protection of its commercial shipping, or for piracy, or the establishment of new colonies.

If it can be shown that this general view of the case is correct in a sufficient number of instances, it must be true generally in others, when it can only be proved that there is no objection to be made against the dates which arise out of it.

A few years ago, M. Charles Müller, the learned editor of the chronological fragments of the Greek classics in Didot's collection, combated the whole of the views here enunciated. He holds that to attempt to prove that this list represents a continuous series is ridiculous. Castor's dates, it is true (which he thinks are only Diodorus'), are not favourable to his hypothesis, which is that the epochs prior to the Olympiads were computed by cycles of 63 years. It is a pity that this should have prevented the learned critic from thoroughly examining the fragment in question, and those of Castor generally, without having made up his mind beforehand. Since, however, he has expressed himself so strongly against every attempt to proceed in the course chalked out by the above-mentioned scholars and pursued by myself, I cannot do less than declare, in opposition to him, that I have no faith whatever in the existence of his so-called cycle of 7×9 years (an idea casually thrown out, and not a happy one, by Otfried Müller). I consider the whole theory, as applied to the older Grecian as well as Egyptian and Babylonian history, to be entirely erroneous. We know nothing at all about a cycle of 63 years, still less of its actual use. But Müller himself would seem to us to have demonstrated that it can only be found in the traditions of the genuine Greek chronographers, by skilfully grouping the dates, and using the signs $+x$ and $-x$. Not one of the principal dates of the

primitive times of Greece that have come down to us, such as the 407 years from the first Olympiad to the year of the Doric immigration, and the 80 years to be deducted from it to the fall of Troy, is a cyclical number. It is true that the classics, from Herodotus down to Erastosthenes, expressly tell us that they and their predecessors calculated by generations computed at from 30 to 33 years, properly speaking, $33\frac{1}{3}$. It must frequently happen that in reckoning by centuries (three generations), the numbers 60, 66, and 67 will occur; and, therefore, 63 may perhaps also occur. But the oldest known cycle, that of 9 years, soon gave way to the Metonic cycle of 19 years, and there are indications that epochs were computed backwards by this cycle. If there were any other, it could only be one of 60 years, which we meet with in primeval Asia, among the Semitic and Iranian races, as well as the Chinese. Plutarch, as we have seen, was acquainted with it, and calls it the original cycle known to all astronomers. We can indeed hardly imagine that, instead of using the real solar year as prescribed by the seasons, a number should have been chosen for an approximate computation of old epochs, expressing lunar years, which are confessedly inaccurate and difficult to correct.

It will, however, be admitted by all critics that the truth can only be discovered in these researches generally, and in the record now under discussion especially, by a patient and thorough examination in the abstract, and the concrete. Apart from the question of the value or valuelessness of his own cycle, Müller would have done better to institute such an examination, rather than declare it at the outset a silly undertaking.

The mode of conducting such an inquiry is laid down by the nature of the record itself. The only fixed chronological datum it contains is the last year, the one before the expedition of Xerxes and the rise of

the maritime supremacy of Athens. How long after the fall of Troy the first maritime supremacy commenced is not stated, and, even had it been, it would have given us no assistance, owing to the unhistorical character of the period.

We must, therefore, calculate backwards from the bottom, beginning at the seventeenth, as long we meet with no impediment. One occurs, however, at the thirteenth (the Samians), where the date is wanting. This is the only lacuna in the dates. Should we succeed in finding a fixed chronological starting-point for one of the earlier epochs, we shall endeavour to calculate down to the above-mentioned lacuna, beginning from the top, in order to discover the extreme limit it can possibly have in that direction. Thus, calculating from the bottom, we obtain the utmost limit in the other direction, and we have then only to make a further calculation upwards, from the highest point which has been ascertained with certainty, until we come to the first epoch.

In making these computations it will soon be apparent whether we are in the right track or not, whether we are dealing with an historical succession of time, or only with isolated and confused data. Should it turn out that the strictly chronological points thus established correspond with historical epochs, and these continuous epochs, the correctness of our assumption is proved; if not, it falls to the ground. We first give the text.

Eusebii Chronicorum liber prior,

cap. XXXVI.

Ex Diodori libris breviter de temporibus maria imperio tenentium.

Maris imperium post Trojanum bellum tenuerunt:

I. *Lydi* [qui] et *Mœones* annis XCII.

Λυδοὶ οἳ καὶ Μαίονες ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ϛ̅ϐ̅. (Sync. p. 172. C.)

II. *Pelasgi* annis LXXXV.

Πελασγοὶ β' ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ΠΕ. (Sync. p. 180. D.)

III. *Thraces* annis LXXIX.

Τρίτον ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Θρᾶκες ἔτη ΟΘ. (Sync. p. 181. B.)

IV. *Rhodii* annis XXIII.

Τέταρτον ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Ῥόδιοι· — κατὰ δέ τινας πέμπτοι· — ἔτη ΚΓ. (ib.)

V. *Phryges* annis XXV.

Φρύγες πέμπτοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ΚΕ· — κατὰ δέ τινας *ἔτη* ϛ (scil. sexto loco, non quinto). (Desunt thalassocratiæ VI.—XI.)

VI. *Cyprii* annis XXXIII. (Hier. ad a. 1150, XXXII.)

VII. *Phœnices* annis XLV. (Id. Hier. ad a. 1174.)

VIII. *Ægyptii* ann[is XXX]. (Annum suppeditant codd. Vat. Hieron. ad a. 1232. V. Mai ad p. 327.)

IX. *Milesii* annis [XVIII]. (Annus debetur Hieron. ad a. 1268.)

X. [*Corinthii*] annis LXI. (Male lacunam supplent codd. Hieronymi scribentes *Cares*, ad a. 1286.)

XI. *Lesbii* annis [LXVIII]. (Annum supplet Hieron. ad a. 1344.)

XII. *Phocenses* annis XLIV.

Δωδέκατοι Φωκεῖς ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ΜΔ. (Sync. p. 239. B. Deest XIII.)

XIII. *Samii* annis..

XIV. *Lacedæmonii* annis II. (Id. ad a. 1503.)

Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ἔτη ΙΒ. (Sync. p. 238. C.)

XV. *Naxii* annis X.

Νάξιοι ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν ϛε, ἔτη Ι· καὶ μετ' αὐτούς.

XVI. *Eretrienses* annis XV. (Id. ad a. 1514.)

Ἐρετριεῖς ιϛ, ἔτη Ζ. (Sync. p. 247. B.)

XVII. *Æginetæ* annis X. (id. ad a. 1531) usque ad Alexandri (l. Xerxis, ut id. in canone) transmissionem.

Ἐθαλασσοκράτησαν Αἰγινῆται ἔτη Ι. (Sync. p. 247. B.)

A. *Calculation downwards from* VII.—XII.

VII. The Carthaginians.—45 Years.

First year, B.C. 814:	Last year, 770:
before Olym. i. 39 years.	Olym. ii. 3.

Assuming the list of Castor to have been neither an idle invention nor an unmeaning medley, it will scarcely be necessary to prove that the *Phœnices* of the 7th epoch much be a translation of the corresponding Greek word which occurs already in Herodotus (v. 46.) without any addition in the sense of *Punic*, itself surely a corruption of *Phoinikes*. It is as impossible for Castor to have placed the great maritime power of the Phœnicians after the Trojan war, so much after it indeed, as it is for it to have been omitted in a list of maritime powers before the Trojan war. But it is not entered in that very recent compilation, except as the supremacy of the Sidonians, and afterwards as that of the Tyrians. We have already shown that the later era of Tyre dates from 1283, that is, not after the Trojan war, but either during or before it.

The epoch of the beginning of the maritime supremacy of Carthage can be no other than that of the beginning of our chronology, consequently 814 or 813, fifty and odd years after the flight of Dido in the seventh year of Pygmalion.[279] That this was really Castor's view will appear from the sequel.

VIII. The Egyptians.—30 Years.

First year, B.C. 769:	Last year, 740:
Ol. ii. 4.	Ol. x. 1.

Supposing 814 to have been the first year of the Carthaginians, the epoch of the Egyptians begins in the 46th year after, consequently in 769. According to our

[279] Book IV. p. 413—421.

tables this is the second year of Zêt, and the period closes with the end of this reign and of the dynasty.

We have already explained the grounds on which the 30 years here assigned, if they have any reality at all, must fall in the reign of Zêt. If its duration be connected with the rise of the Milesians, Castor may have computed from the fourth year of Zêt, so that the maritime supremacy of the Egyptians only ended in the third year of the unfortunate Bokkhoris. Certainly not later. For dissensions at home and preparations for the Ethiopian war must very soon have compelled him to abandon the supremacy by sea, if indeed he did not do so from the very first, as he did Zêt's reform of military feudalism.

IX. The Milesians.—18 Years.

First year, B.C. 739:	Last year, 722:
Ol. x. 2.	Ol. xiv. 3.

In examining this series the idea naturally occurs to us that Zêt probably purchased the fleet from the Milesians, the early Ionian traders with Egypt, or that he had it built and equipped by them, and that they took it back when the absurd notion of Egypt being a naval power without possessing trading vessels and sailors of her own had been abandoned. At all events, our knowledge of the history of Miletus does not furnish us with any special occasion for such an epoch. Eusebius, on the contrary, as appears in Hieronymus and the Armenian version, in the Canon of the year 1267 or 1268 (749 or 748 B. C.), appended this remarkable observation, which is as follows in Mai's edition:

"Mare obtinuerunt Milesii *construxeruntque urbem in Ægypto Naucratem.*"

The naval power of Egypt is stated to have commenced in the year 1232 (784 B.C.). To any one

acquainted with the arbitrary mode of proceeding pursued in the canon, it will cause no surprise that the interval here is 36 years instead of 30. The account of the building of the Greek city of Naucratis is certainly derived from the same source as the more meagre synopsis in Eusebius of the seventeen maritime powers in the 36th chapter of the first book of the Chronicle. The well-known passage about Naucratis in Herodotus (ii. 178. seq.) proves its high antiquity, the name itself being unquestionable proof of it having originally been a Greek settlement. Amasis, who was a Philhellene, allowed the Greeks who came to Egypt to settle there, or, if they did not choose to settle and colonise, to erect altars and plant groves. Of these one settlement was Milesian. In old times, however, says Herodotus, Naucratis was the only trading and free port in Egypt, i. e. as Baehr has rightly argued in opposition to Soldan, long before the time of Amasis. Nothing short of a declaration upon oath that they were driven in by want of provisions saved those who landed anywhere else from severe penalties (in earlier times they would have been put to death). In that case the vessel was obliged to be taken to the Canopic mouth, or the cargo brought in boats to Naucratis. "So great," adds the historian, "were the privileges of Naucratis." We may now venture to state that "the old time" was the age of Zêt above mentioned, barely 250 years, it is true, before the more liberal policy of Amasis in respect to trade was adopted, but still sufficiently far off for the Greeks, who, as we learn from Herodotus, had no very intimate acquaintance with Egypt before the time of Psammetichus.

X. THE CORINTHIANS. — 61 YEARS.

First year, B.C. 721:	Last year, 663:
Ol. xiv. 4.	Ol. xxix. 2.

The name of the naval power which arose in Olymp. 14, 4 is omitted in the Armenian text, so that there must have been a lacuna in the Greek, or the name, even the very first letter of it, must have been illegible. It is hardly necessary to say that the word "Cares" with which Hieronymus has filled it up cannot be right. From the time when Ionian and Dorian settlers from Hellas took possession of the coast of Caria, the Carians were excluded from the sea; and least of all can they have been a naval power from the 14th to the 31st Olympiad. Minos had already deprived them of their maritime supremacy.

The Corinthians, on the other hand, cannot have been omitted in Castor's list, supposing it to have any historical value at all. Thucydides, in the passage about the development of the naval power of the Hellenes (i. 13, 14.), represented the Corinthians as being the first who built triremes in Hellas, adding, that they began to do so "at least 300 years before the close of the Peloponnesian war," that is, 704 B.C. "The earliest naval action with which we are acquainted," he goes on to say, "was fought between the Corinthians and Corcyræans, at most 260 years before the above period," that is, 664 B.C. (according to others 665, Ol. 28, 4).

The Corinthians were defeated, and it can hardly be a mere accident that, according to our computation from above, the tenth epoch ends exactly in the year 663, or Ol. 29, 2. But this is not the only point of agreement. All the rest harmonizes likewise. The fact of the Corinthians being mentioned in Castor, 18 years before the triremes were built, is not inconsistent with the statement of the great historian. They might be con-

sidered at that time as a naval power, although they had no triremes, just as in more modern days naval engagements could be fought without three-deckers.

XI. The Lesbians.—68 Years.

First year, B.C. 662:	Last year, 595:
Ol. xxix. 3.	Ol. xlvi. 2.

Any one bearing in mind what has been said in respect to the tenth naval power, would perhaps imagine that the eleventh must be that of the Corcyræans. I do not mean to try to get over this apparent difficulty by suggesting that Castor did not include the Adriatic, or that he even, as Heyne thinks, confined himself to the Ægean. Such a supposition seems to me inadmissible, on account of the mention of the Egyptians. But why may we not suppose that he considered the rising power of the Lesbians at that epoch as more important than the contemporary one of the Corcyræans in a distant sea?

XII. The Phocæans.—44 Years.

First year B.C. 594:	Last year, 551:
Ol. xlvi. 3.	Ol. lvii. 2.

The maritime adventures of the Phocæans are universally known. The destruction of Phocæa, which gave birth to Massilia, occurred in Ol. 60, 2=539 B.C. The period, therefore, is entirely suitable.

As the date of the duration of the next naval power (the Samians) is lost, we cannot carry on our calculations from above any further. We have, however, ascertained that the highest point to which the Samian epoch can extend is the year 550. The lowest point we may hope to discover when we ascend from the fixed ending point in Castor's list up to the lacuna.

B. *The Computation upwards from* XVII—XIV.

XVII. THE ÆGINETÆ.—10 YEARS.

First year, B.C. 490: Ol. lxxii. 3.	Last year, 481: Ol. lxxiv. 4.

After the year 480 the naval supremacy of Athens commenced, consequently the last year of that of Ægina was 481. For the number 10 is perfectly authenticated from its agreement with the Armenian version, the two books of the Chronicle, and with Hieronymus. The 20, and even 25 years, therefore, adopted by several earlier writers and editors of the Canon of Eusebius, must be abandoned, as resting on no authentic grounds.

The Æginetæ clearly could have no supremacy at sea before they became independent of Epidaurus (Her. v. 83.). Heyne gives Ol. 69 as the epoch of the revolt. It was probably in 69, 1, therefore, for the Æginetæ had invaded Attica before Ol. 70, 2.

XVI. THE ERETRIANS.—7 YEARS.

Last year, B.C. 491: Ol. lxxii. 2.	First year, 497: Ol. lxx. 4.

The date of Eusebius, 15 years, would seem the best accredited, as being the same as that of the Armenian version, both in this place and in the Canon, as well as of Hieronymus. But all the MSS. of Syncellus have 7, which appears from what follows to be the right date.

The starting-point which we obtain from it tallies exactly with the remark of Herodotus (v. 99.), in reference to the period from Ol. 50 to 69: "Eretria was then flourishing." There is historical evidence, also, that their naval supremacy lasted after the epoch of the Æginetæ. The Eretrians sent twenty ships in aid of

Miletus, and burnt Sardes, for which reason the expedition of Datis and Artaphernes (Ol. 72, 3=490 B.C.) was especially directed against them and the Athenians.

XV. The Naxians.—10 Years.

Last year, B.C. 498:	First year, 507:
Ol. lxx. 3.	Ol. lxviii. 2.

The evidence adduced by Heyne as to the naval supremacy of the Naxians is very striking.[280] We may, perhaps, obtain certain data as to its commencement, if we start upon the assumption that Lygdamis, the tyrant of Samos, assisted Pisistratus on his third restoration to power at Athens in Ol. 60, 1=B.C. 540. Now he was in all probability expelled by the Lacedæmonians the same year in which they assisted the Alcmæonidæ to expel the Pisistratidæ, under Cleomenes, Ol. 67, 2 or 3=B.C. 510. Nothing, therefore, can be more suitable than the supposition of the epoch of this thalassocracy having commenced Ol. 68, 2=B.C. 507.

XIV. The Lacedæmonians.—12 Years.

Last year, B.C. 508:	First year, 519:
Ol. lxviii. 1.	Ol. lxv. 2.

Here, again, the date of Syncellus is preferable. In the first place, a maritime power of two years' duration, or one which, at all events, is succeeded by another at the end of two years, is in itself not very intelligible. The history, moreover, is decisive in favour of exactly 12 years, namely the reign of Cleomenes, which began in 519, and whose power, both by land and sea, was destroyed in 508.

In other words, according to the calculation which naturally arises from the ending point of the whole

[280] Diod. v. 52.: καὶ ναυτικάς τε δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους συστήσασθαι. Suid. s. v. Ναξιουργὴς κάνθαρος (a particular sort of vessel): Κρατῖνος δὲ λέγει, ὅτι Θαλασσοκρατοῦντές ποτε Νάξιοι ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς.

series, the supremacy of the Lacedæmonians coincided with the reign of the first Cleomenes, the only epoch in the older period which appears suitable for it.

This gives us a date for the thirteenth naval power, the Samians, for which none has been transmitted:

as the highest limit 551 B.C.
„ lowest „ 519

The length of it may be therefore restored by a natural inference.

XIII. THE SAMIANS.—[31 YEARS.]

Last year, B.C. 520:	First year, 550:
Ol. lxv. 1.	Ol. lvii. 3.

Nothing can accord better with what we know of the history of Samos than this epoch. It was in Ol. 58, 1 (B.C. 548), the year of the burning of the Temple of Delphi, that the Samians intercepted the magnificent cauldron presented to Crœsus by the Lacedæmonians. They had also intercepted, in the preceding year (Ol. 57, 4 549), the splendid coat of mail sent by Amasis to the same Lydian king. But the rule of Polycrates (Ol. 62—64, 3=532—522) represents the zenith of the naval supremacy of the Samians. Strabo (xii. p. 821. A.) expressly mentions the thalassocracy of the Samians under Polycrates. Lastly, the commencement of it is ascertained with certainty by another historical circumstance. The democratical form of government was not adopted till long after the assassination of Demoteles, the last king. The government then fell into the hands of the geomors or landowners (Plut. Zn. Gr. 57.). The victory over the Megaræans at Perinthus was the occasion of the adoption of the democratical constitution. The date of this action has not been hitherto known. But as the democratical government was probably the cause of the naval

supremacy of the Samians being considerably extended, we may fairly suppose that this naval victory was chosen by Castor as the commencement of that epoch.

Having thus filled up the only lacuna in the dates of our text, and adjusted the discrepancies in some of the readings of the extant dates from VII. to XVII. by a regular series of calculations, it only remains for us to attempt to restore the dates of the first six epochs. This, of course, can only be done by computing them backwards.

C. *Computation of Castor's Epochs* VI.—I.

VI. The Cyprians. — 33 Years (*Hier.* 32.)

Last year, B.C. 816:	First year, 847 (846):
before Ol. i. 40.	before Ol. i. 72.

There is no want of evidence that the Cyprians carried on a trade by sea, as well as that they had a maritime supremacy in early times.[281]

V. The Phrygians. — 25 Years.

Last year, B.C. 848 (847):	First year, 872 (871):
before Ol. i. 73.	before Ol. i. 97.

The offering of King Midas at Delphi preceded that of Gyges (720).

[281] Eustath. ad Perieg. 508.: ὀλβιώτατοι δὲ νησιωτῶν οἱ Κύπριοι· λέγονται δέ ποτε θαλασσοκρατῆσαι καιρόν τινα καὶ αὐτοί. Strabo (xiv. p. 1003. c.) gives us this testimony of Eratosthenes as to the antiquity of their commerce by sea, and the naval supremacy which was the consequence of it.

IV. THE RHODIANS. — 23 YEARS.

Last year, B.C. 873 (872): before Ol. i. 98. First year, 895 (894): before Ol. i. 120.

It would be a misunderstanding of Syncellus if, from his remark "that some had assigned the fifth place to the Rhodians," the conclusion were drawn that the MSS. in which there is a discrepancy, assigned the fourth place to the Phrygians. The corresponding remark in these MSS. is, after making the necessary emendation, that some had entered them sixth in the list of naval powers. This implies that they must have supposed the name of some power to have been left out before the Rhodians. We cannot deal with this statement, owing to the series of Syncellus not being continued again till the twelfth place. No alteration, therefore, need be made, although it does seem more natural in itself that the Phrygians should follow after the non-Hellenic powers, without the interpolation of the Rhodians, who in that case would stand at the head of the Hellenic states, which now succeed without a break until we come to the Carthaginians.

Much may be said on the other hand in favour of a naval supremacy of the Rhodians from 895—873. It was after the death of Codrus (about 960 or 950, according to the corrected chronology), that Dorians from Megara settled in Rhodes, and Strabo speaks in very express terms of further and uninterrupted expeditions of the Rhodians. They went to Iberia, where they founded Rhode (Rhodez), on the slopes of the Pyrenees, and to the south of Italy, where they founded Parthenope. They possessed in the Iberian sea the Balearic Isles, and seemingly, for a long time, Corsica also (Kyrnos), on which they were driven.[282] This implies

[282] Strabo, xiv. p. 968.: Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπιακῆς θέσεως συχνοῖς ἔτεσιν ἔπλεον πόῤῥω τῆς οἰκείας * * * ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων·

not merely that they possessed considerable commerce, but a naval force to protect it. In assuming, therefore, that Strabo's expression, "they had ships many years before the establishment of the Olympic games," means a very distant epoch, I must at the same time remark, that by the establishment of the Olympic games I can only understand 776. The imaginary Iphitus, before 880 (who at the same time is made the contemporary and ally of Lycurgus), is entirely out of the question, and the testimony of Aristotle remains unimpeachable.[283]

III. THE THRACIANS.—79 YEARS.

Last year, B.C. 896 (895): before Ol. i. 121. First year, 974 (973): before Ol. i. 199.

The reading to which Scaliger and Casaubon gave the preference (annis xix.), now falls to the ground as a matter of course. The date in the Armenian version (and the Canon also ad a. 1015), as well as in Hieronymus and Syncellus, is 79. The dates of II. and I. are also in favour of this reading. We know of but one epoch in the history of the Thracians in this period: the settlement of those who emigrated from the Strymon to Asia, in Bebrykia (the country of the Phrygians), the present Bithynia (land of the Thynians). This migra-

ἀφ' οὗ καὶ μέχρι Ἰβηρίας ἔπλευσαν, κἀκεῖ μὲν τὴν Ῥόδον ἔκτισαν, ἣν ὕστερον Μασσαλιῶται κατέσχον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀπικοῖς τὴν Παρθενόπην, &c. The asterisks mark where the name of a country or place is wanting, and one too of the masculine or neuter gender, so that it cannot be Σαρδώ. It is probably Κύρνος: for the Balearics (Gymnetæ) are mentioned directly afterwards as Rhodian colonies. To make sense of it, it must be restored somewhat as follows: καὶ οὕτω ποτὲ κατέσχον ἐπὶ Κύρνον, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

283 Here again Duncker has taken the right view, and briefly and conclusively placed the reader in a position to form an opinion for himself. (loc. cit. iii. 352. seq. note; conf. p. 381. seq.). Here again Clinton has come to a weak conclusion.

tion, however, is said by Herodotus [284] to have been caused by the movements of the Teucrians and Mysians, who drove them out of Thracia Proper. This clearly brings us to the time when the non-Hellenic people were still independent in Asia Minor and Pontus as far as the coasts. Now Eusebius, in the Canon, places this event at the year 1036 of Abraham, i.e. B.C. 971 or 970. Syncellus does the same. Eusebius has even fixed the date of the beginning of their maritime supremacy at the year of Abraham 1012, i.e. B.C. 994. Those who have paid attention to these data in his Canon, which was extracted from Castor's list, know that they are full of inaccuracies, arbitrary assumptions and difficulties, and consequently that they are of no value in a chronological point of view, apart from the fact that Eusebius does not confirm the chronological interpretation of the above list. But what is the origin of his date of the emigration from the Strymon to Bithynia, which is placed only 25 years later? Taken literally it is wholly incompatible with a supremacy of 79 years, for it breaks it up in the middle. It was a more plausible supposition that the supremacy was the result of the emigration. It is, however, more probable that the maritime supremacy was brought to a close by the advance of the Teucrians and Mysians, which was the cause of the Thracian migration into Asia.

II. THE PELASGI.—85 YEARS.

Last year, B.C. 975 (974): before Ol. i. 200. First year, 1059 (1058): before Ol. i. 284.

Menecrates of Elæa, the pupil of Xenocrates, a schoolfellow of Hecatæus (about 315), stated, according to

[284] Herod. vii. 75.: Οὗτοι δὲ (Thraces) διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί· τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δέ φασιν ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν.

Strabo (xiii. 21.), in his work upon the foundation of cities, the following fact: That the whole of the coast now called Ionian, from the slope of the mountain of Mycale onwards (opposite to Samos), was, as well as the neighbouring islands, originally inhabited by the Pelasgi. Strabo himself says, in the same passage, that when the Æolians, soon after the fall of Troy, expelled the Pelasgi, already enfeebled by that war, from the spot where they afterwards built Kyme, they halted at Larissa, 70 stadia from Kyme, a Pelasgic city still in existence in his time, although in ruins.

Here, then, we have an authentic account of a circumstance to which the connected restoration of the list of Castor leads as a matter of course. The naval supremacy of the Pelasgians could at that time have existed nowhere but in Ionia. Added to which, the only feasible solution of the enigma of an Ionian seafaring people existing prior to the colonies from Attica in the tenth century is, that the Ionians then inhabited Ionia, but subject to the Pelasgi, who were masters of the country in their rear. This was their historical residence, restricted more or less by the Carians and Lelegæ, who pushed on from the interior, and subsequently by the Lydians. This was the view taken by Herodotus in the well-known passage (i. 56.) where he said of the Ionians, as contrasted with the Hellenic Dorians, that they were of Pelasgic race, and occupied their country. The general context will not allow us to restrict this expression to the Ionians from Attica. It must at the same time be admitted that he did not carry out this view any further. He says, indeed, in a subsequent passage (vii. 94.), that the Ionians of Achaia were called, prior to the Doric migration, "Pelasgian dwellers on the coast." Now no one believes that the Ionians were Pelasgians, or that Herodotus considered the Ionian and Pelasgian language as identical. Here again, then, the same solution is the most

natural one. The Pelasgians were the original inhabitants both of Ionia and the Peloponnese, and of Hellas generally. The Ionians settled on the coast with their consent, acknowledging them to be the lords of the soil, and so they passed for being a part of the Pelasgi until they became independent.

We may, therefore, call this naval power the Old-Ionian. The trading vessels, the foundation of their maritime supremacy, as well as the manning and management of the ships of war, were in the hands of the Ionians.

We cannot enter here into any further description of the consequence which this may have upon the history of the Ionians and the Hellenes generally. We shall treat hereafter of some particulars which are directly connected with our researches.

Unless we have failed altogether in our restoration of Castor's lists, we have not only established the proper date for the Pelasgic Ionians before the Doric migration, and the movements to which it gave rise, but also proved where they were settled, a fact hitherto undetermined. Doris was the primitive seat of the Ionians. They reached it doubtless by the coast road from the Black Sea or the Bosphorus; a course to which, therefore, their legends allude.

It is hardly necessary to remark that there is no reference to the Tyrrhenians in this epoch. It is true, they were also called Tyrrheno-Pelasgi, and rightly so, as I conclude upon philological grounds. But apart from the fact of the essential word, Tyrrhenians, not being used in our list, the colonisation by the Tyrrhenians from the coast of Lydia is expressly stated by Diodorus (xiv. 113. p. 727.) to have occurred prior to the Trojan war.

I. The Mæonians.—92 Years.

Last year, B. C. 1060 (1059): before Ol. i. 285. First year, 1151 (1150): before Ol. i. 376.

Castor naturally either simply called the people Mæonians, or he added their modern name of Lydians for the benefit of his unlearned readers.

The starting-point of the whole series must be prior to the old Æolic emigration and conquest. This is usually placed in the year 1124, a conclusion arrived at by pushing up the dates about a hundred years. If we fix it between 1000 and 1050, this epoch accords very well, not only for its starting-point, but also for its duration down to 1060 B.C. at least; for the maritime supremacy of the Mæonians might have continued after the rise of that of the Pelasgi, although it is improbable, owing to their close propinquity. We may rather say, with reasonable certainty, that the rise of the naval power of the Pelasgo-Ionians may have caused the downfall of that of their Mæonian rivals.

As regards Castor's date of the year of the fall of Troy, as well as of that of the return of the Heraclidæ, Müller's assumption that he made the former 1208 (1207), the latter 80 years later, 1128 (1127), seems to me by no means established. There is no proof that he did not follow the then pretty generally adopted date of Eratosthenes. At all events, there is no trace here of systematic or even cyclical calculations. The naval supremacy of the Lydians belongs to the age of the Sandæ or Heraclidæ in Lydia, long before the Mermnadæ, and has nothing to do with the Dorian expedition of the Heraclidæ, or the migrations to Asia to which it gave rise. It was earlier than all those movements, and so it must have been if it deserves the name of historical.

Lastly it is clear that the date of the first naval power in Castor has not the slightest connexion with this event either chronologically or historically.

D.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE RESTORED LIST OF CASTOR, AND RESULT OF THE PRESENT CRITICAL RESEARCH INTO EGYPTIAN HISTORY AND ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY.

Now what is the result of our present chronologico-historical criticism?

In carrying out the assumption of a continuous chronological series, we have met with no contradictions; on the contrary, wherever we had any reason to expect it, we find a striking accordance with other traditions about which there is no suspicion. No man of common sense can suppose this to be mere accident. Nor will he deny that the chronology is Castor's, whose two books upon this subject are expressly quoted, and who, being a Rhodian, lived in the centre of the Ægæan traditions. Besides which, how could they be attributed to Diodorus? Unfortunately, owing to the loss of books VI.—XI., we have not his account of the very period under discussion, from the fall of Troy to the year of Xerxes' expedition. But supposing even that he entered the thalassocracies separately in the place where each came under discussion, all such data put together would never have made such a list as ours. What can have been the meaning of the number 45 annexed to the Punic supremacy, which lasted for centuries with increasing power? It can only have originated owing to the next epoch in the list (the Egyptians) having commenced exactly in the

46th year after the commencement of the Carthaginian supremacy. Again, at the end of the fifth book (v. 84.), mention is casually made of the maritime power of the Carians having been particularly great in the age after the fall of Troy. Castor, however, as we have seen, evidently placed that supremacy, and with good reason, before the taking of Troy, namely, before Minos, who put an end to it. Diodorus, therefore, must somewhere have introduced Castor's list as a synopsis, and have followed in his own special historical narrative the writer whose work he had before him, traces of whom can constantly be pointed out. In his connected enumeration of the generations of old Egyptian kings he never notices the list of five Egyptian legislators given at i. 94. Sasychis, the second on it, is not once named in the narrative. Nor is there any mention of the Egyptian naval power and Zêt-Sethos.

Eusebius, therefore, composed the 36th chapter of the first book of his Chronicles out of Castor's list, which was epitomized by Diodorus, and actually called by him an abridgement. The series thus acquired he then, in a very careless and arbitrary manner, introduced into his wretched Canon, and frequently forgot to give the dates. Still, as we have seen, he has recorded for us in that chapter a fact in the history of the Milesians not mentioned in the Canon, namely, the building of Naucratis.

The only objection which can be raised against our conclusions from Grote's point of view would be this very agreement of the oldest dates which we have obtained, not with those adopted by Castor and the other chronographers for Troy and the Doric migrations, but with the corrected dates of those events which we have elicited by dint of critical research. Looking at it as matter of historical criticism (for I will not waste another word upon the new-fangled cycles), it may be asked how can Castor have been right in his

data about the oldest thalassocracies in the age prior to the Doric emigration, or soon after it, when he has avowedly fixed that cardinal point about a hundred years too early? My answer is, for this very simple reason: because, fortunately, he does not assign any causal relation between them and the fall of Troy, or the return of the Heraclidæ. He, an inhabitant of Rhodes, derived his dates from local written information (computations by generations), and judiciously works them up into a series in the sense which we have discussed. The clearest proof that very rational isolated notices and computations about the date of the return of the Heraclidæ were in existence is found in Plutarch's account, which is about a hundred years lower than the systematic one, and it agrees perfectly with the corrected date for Iphitus and Lycurgus.

With all this there must always be uncertainties to the extent of twenty-five or thirty years. But the more settled points we obtain, the greater the probability of our approximating nearer to the truth. A great step, however, is already gained, if we can show that there really are in existence approximative dates of Hellenic history prior to the Olympiads, as can be indeed shown in the case, for instance, of the historical Hesiod.

We will, therefore, close this inquiry with a synoptical restoration of the epochs of Castor.

Castor's Epochs of the Naval Powers in the Mediterranean, in the Age after the Fall of Troy, down to the year prior to Xerxes' Expedition.

Succession.	Name of the Naval Power, and its Duration.	Starting-Point.		Last Year.		Historical Epoch.
		Olympiad.	B.C.	Olympiad.	B.C.	
I.	The Mæonians (Lydians) 92.	Before Olymp. I. 376 (375)	1151 (1150)	Before Olymp. I. 285 (284)	1060 (1059)	Rule of the Heraclidæ in Lydia, prior to all the Greek emigrations.
II.	The Pelasgi (Tyrrhenians) 85.	284 (283)	1059 (1058)	200 (199)	975 (974)	Lydian emigration to Tyrrhenia: close of the ante-Ionic emigration.
III.	The Thracians 79.	199 (198)	974 (973)	121 (120)	896 (895)	Occasioned by the colonisation of the Strymonian Thracians in Bithynia.
IV.	The Rhodians 23.	120 (119)	895 (894)	98 (97)	873 (872)	After the Phœnician Rhodians were expelled: date of the settlement in Iberia and South Italy.
V.	The Phrygians 25.	97 (96)	872	73 (72)	848 (847)	Probably in the zenith of the Midas kings.
VI.	The Cyprians 33 (32).	72 (71)	847 (846)	40	816	
VII.	The Carthaginians 45.	39	814	Olymp. II. 3	770	Commencement of the chronology of Carthage, about 65 years after the first landing.
VIII.	The Egyptians 30.	Olymp. II. 4	769	X. 1.	740	From the second, or at latest fifth, year of Zet (Sethos), the last king of the 23rd Dynasty. —Naucratis.
IX.	The Milesians 18.	X. 2.	739	XIV. 3.	722	Probably as having succeeded to the Egyptian fleet.
X.	The [Corinthians] 61.	XIV. 4.	721	XXIX. 2.	663	Corinthian settlement: foundation of Syracuse and Corcyra, 733 (XL 4.). Fatal sea fight against the Corcyræans, 665 (XXVIII. 4.). Cypselus Tyrant, 658 (XXX. 2.).

Succession.	Name of the Naval Power, and its Duration.	Starting-Point.		Last Year.		Historical Epoch.
		Olympiad.	B.C.	Olympiad.	B.C.	
XI.	The Lesbians 68.	XXIX. 3.	662	XLVI. 2.	595	
XII.	The Phocæans 44.	XLVI. 3.	594	LVII. 2.	551	Phocæa destroyed, 539 (LX. 2.).
XIII.	The Samians [31].	LVII. 3.	550	LXV. 1.	520	Seize the Egyptian and Lacedæmonian ships, 549, 548. Thalassocracy under Polycrates, 532, 522 (Olym. LXII.–LXIV. 3.).
XIV.	The Lacedæmonians 12.	LXV. 2.	519	LXVIII. 1.	508	The reign of Cleomenes II. down to the settlement in Attica.
XV.	The Naxians 10.	LXVIII. 2.	507	LXX. 3.	498	The Tyrant Lygdamis expelled by Cleomenes, 510 (Olym. LXVII. $\frac{2}{4}$.).
XVI.	The Eretrians 7.	LXX. 4.	497	LXXII. 2.	491	Herodotus expressly says that Eretria was at this time flourishing.
XVII.	The Æginetæ 10.	LXXII. 3.	490	LXXIV. 4.	481	Independence of Epidaurus, Olym. LXIX. Invasion of Attica, LXX. 1. Predominant naval power in the expedition of Darius.

(480. Olymp. LXXV. 1. Expedition of Xerxes. Maritime supremacy of Athens.)

XVII. Epochs of naval supremacy before the battle of Salamis in 673 years,

from 1151 to 481 B. C. inclusive,

„ 376 before Olymp. I. to Olymp. LXXIV. 4. inclusive.

This chronological series stands alone in the traditions which have come down to us of the oldest history of the Hellenes and their predecessors on the coast of Asia Minor. It is worthy of the most celebrated chronographer since Eratosthenes. But his "Two Books upon the States which exercised Naval Supremacy" (or had a naval force) must have contained something beyond a mere formal chronology. They must be regarded as an historical disquisition, not simply upon the starting-points of these seventeen epochs, and the events which each of them called forth, or to which they gave rise; but also upon the actual duration of each of these naval supremacies. For it is clear that the dates here entered merely express the interval between two thalassocracies —the time which elapsed from the beginning of one to the beginning of the next, in the same or a totally different part of the Mediterranean. The Tyrrhenian supremacy at sea lasted for centuries, so did the Carthaginian. They both extended beyond the point here fixed upon as the close of them, namely, the expedition of Xerxes. It is probable that Diodorus even omitted these disquisitions and dates in the above-cited passage.

We may, therefore, sum up the general historical results in the two following sentences.

Our restoration of the epochs of Castor enables us to show that, in the oldest cities of the later Ionian League, as early as about the middle of the eleventh century, the names of the Ionians stand in that list among the Pelasgi. This we consider to be a farther confirmation of what Niebuhr insisted upon, and Curtius has proved; namely, the early existence of Ionian cities.

But the theory of the Ionians having had intercourse with Egypt in the 18th and 19th Dynasties, is as completely destroyed as is that of an early communication with India, even supposing it to have been carried on exclusively by sea through the Arab tribes. Not a trace

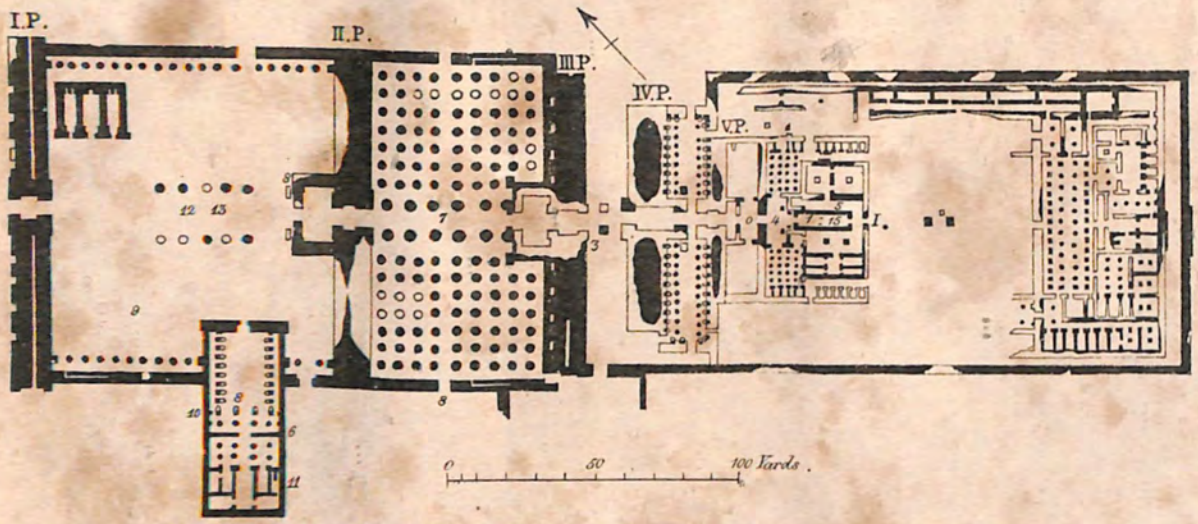
of the name of the Ionians is found on the monuments, even in the time of Sheshonk. The first certain proof of it is 200 years later, namely, in the reign of the sacerdotal king, Zêt, the last of the 23rd Dynasty, 100 years before the reign of the great Psammetichus. The monuments, lastly, do not mention the name of the Ionians in the Pharaonic times. The phonetic spelling of it in the Ptolemaic age is an innovation, in direct contravention of the rules of the genuine hieroglyphical system.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.
NEW-STREET SQUARE.

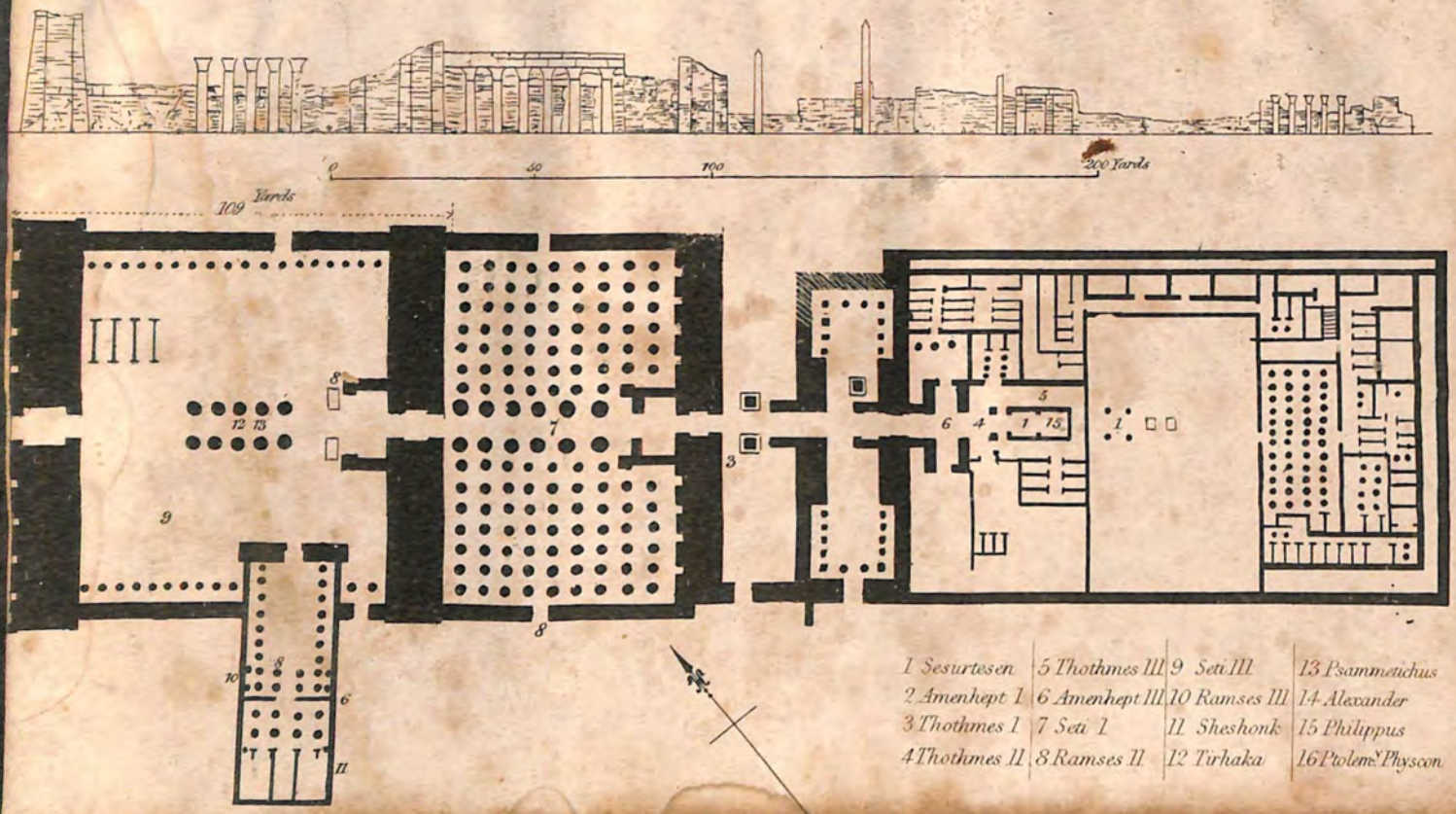
London, Longman & Co.

Engraved by T. Weller.



PLAN OF THE PALACE AT KARNAK.

(AFTER LEPSIUS.)



PLAN AND LONGITUDINAL SECTION

00048781

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016